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QUEEN CHARLOTTE OF TONGA

[introductory p. i]

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only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of *losi* leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty-stricken. The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*. young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *longangatu*, ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fastened together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood (some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohibited to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the billiard-like game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be punished, perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou*. If passing a chief, he would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dismount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, successful love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring.

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a commoner (here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the attitude of many Tongan commoners.

The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen. X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was

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The word *sia* (25, p. 199) refers to any mound, artificial or otherwise, including grave mounds; but a chief's tumulus was not called a *sia*. It was called a mountain (*mounga*) as a compliment to the high rank of the interred. The burial places of the Tui Tonga and Tamaha were called langis; those of lesser dignitaries were called *faitoka*. The langis were rectangular, the *faitoka* circular tumuli. Such tumuli are common and contain burial vaults. The chief's retainers were sometimes buried in the mound around the vault, thus giving rise to the erroneous modern idea that the word *faitoka* means a cemetery, rather than a single tomb.

McKern (42) treats fully of these burial vaults. Two ancient tumuli which I observed on Eua Island were respectively 10 and 15 feet high and had shell and coral on top, and in the higher of the two, the stone slab covering the vault was exposed.

Black volcanic pebbles (*kilikili*) were used, among other things, to decorate the graves of chiefs, their relatives, and matapules. The graves of commoners were said not to be so decorated anciently. The mound over a commoner's grave was called *tanuanga* and the excavation for the burial of a commoner *tanunga*. There is at Koulo, Lifuka Island, Haapai, a graveyard for commoners. It is called Anatatangi. There are said to have been no graveyards for commoners formerly. The *tua* was buried anywhere convenient, usually in the tract where he lived, and his grave was not cared for beyond the generation of those relatives living at the time of his demise. In the bush to-day are to be found many remains of the ancient rural population of commoners.

The term *fakafalekakai* refers to the burying of a child or dearly beloved relative in the dwelling house. This was done for sentimental reasons, "so that the deceased might still sit with them in the home circle." It seems to have been practiced only by commoners.

Cave burial was sometimes resorted to. I saw near Houma, Eua Island, a cave in which the people were buried in rows. Formerly the entrance was closed by a slab. A tidal wave smashed it and stirred up the bones within. Vakauta, my informant, said that the people in the cave were people who dwelt with Falekaono, a Vavau chief who had a tract at Tufuvai, in Eua.

The decorating of the grave top took place from several days after a burial to two years thereafter. Black volcanic pebbles, red coral, white coral, and sand were the principal materials used in the decorating. The grave decorating was followed by one day of feasting. The actual work of decorating and the accompanying feasting were called *lanukilikili* (*lanu*, color; *kilikili*, black volcanic pebbles used in grave decorating). No ceremony took place at the grave in connection with the decorating, the

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work being practical in its scope. Bottles of coconut oil seen at modern graves are to oil the black pebbles to make them appear even blacker.

The *kilikili*, or other decorative materials, were always placed on the grave by women, among whom were the female relatives of the dead and all neighboring women who contributed their work as *meaofa* (thing of love), which would later be reciprocated. The work and the feasting were accompanied and intervalled by mourning and crying. It is customary to hang wreaths and girdles called *sisi* at graves. Food is not offered to the dead, but mats and tapa may be.

If the dead were of chiefly rank, the ranking male representative of that chiefly family acted as director of the *lanukilikili*. He set the time for doing it and authorized his official matapule to gather materials and perform other necessary work. His wife, or, in the absence of a wife, the closest female representative, directed that part of the work to be done by women. If the dead was of matapule rank, the chief to whom that matapule owed allegiance directed the work as above, the actual managing, of course, being placed in the hands of an appointed matapule.

The following is an account of a recent interment of a woman of high rank, as witnessed by E. E. V. Collocott:

> Mary Siliukitapu, widow of the late Premier Tukuaho, and mother of the Prince Consort Tungi, died on the 29th of July, 1921, and was buried Saturday, the 30th of July in the same grave with her late husband. When the time came for the body to be placed in the vault a large piece of tapa was put up as a screen so that none but the *haatufunga* could see into the grave and behold the remains of Tukuaho. A work song (*tauaalo*) was sung whilst the body was being placed in the grave.
>
> A boy told me afterwards that he had assisted in the burial of a child related to Valu of Utulau. A vault in which a person had been previously buried was opened for the occasion. The boy said that he and others dug the sand off from the top of the vault, lifted the stone slab, and then retired to a distance, so as not to see into the vault. A *haatufunga* man alone was allowed to see the remains already there. When the covering slab was lifted he concealed these remains with tapa. He took the body of the dead child and put it in the grave.

Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker witnessed the opening of the vault in the Langi Olovehi at Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. The vault was in the form of a truncated pyramid with four sides. Its base was about 8 feet long, top about 5 feet long, and depth 4 feet, the stones which formed the sides were about 1 foot thick. The vault was covered by stone slabs about 2 feet thick and 7 feet square which overlapped its mouth. These stones were of a yellowish coral and had a level surface. The body of Tuita which was to be interred was wrapped in fine mats and tapa; it was lowered feet first into the vault, as the opening was too short to allow it being put straight down. Passed round the edge of the slab were ropes for moving it and these were pulled by men standing on the ground below the tomb, as they were not allowed to stand on the terrace, because of the tapu. Only

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712 each side, serving to deepen them. Opposite
349 each large doorway, there is no ditch dug.
[531] The inner and outer fencings are ornamented profusely with white shells. Some of these fortifications are square, others round. That of Nioocalofa was round.

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decayed, and sending forth no very agreeable odour: this however was a circumstance they did not much regard, their object being the teeth, of the substance of which they make a kind of necklace, by cutting it into smaller pieces, each preserving the shape of a whale's tooth, from an inch to four inches long, having a hole in the broadest part, through which they are closely strung, and put round the neck; the largest being in front, and the others decreasing in size on each side, up to the back of the neck; so that, when drawn close, their pointed extremities spread out, and form a very agreeable ornament upon their brown skins, and is much prized by them, on account of its scarcity as well as beauty. This has given rise to the accounts which voyagers have given that they wear teeth round their necks, whereas they are only forms of teeth cut out of the tooth of the whale; and it is astonishing with what neatness they do this, making as little waste as would be possible to do with much better instruments than what they possess; which is nothing, in general, but a common shaped European chisel, or a piece of a saw, or in defect of these, a flattened nail rendered sharp: before they procured iron from European ships, they made use of a sharp stone. This kind of ivory they also use to inlay their

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clubs with, as well as their wooden pillows (see p. 127:) the high price set upon these ornaments will be exemplified in the following account, which Finow, on this occasion, gave to Mr. Mariner.

A short time after the revolt at Tonga, when Finow first became sovereign of Hapai and Vavaoo, news was brought him of a large dead whale being drifted on a reef, off a small island, inhabited only by one man and his wife; who had the cultivation of a small plantation there. Finow immediately sailed for this place, and finding the teeth taken from the whale, questioned the man about them, who thereupon went to his house, and taking down a basket from the roof presented it to him, but in it were only two teeth. The man protested that he put them all there, and knew nothing more about them; and taxing his wife with having concealed them, she acknowledged that she had secreted one, and brought it to him, from a place in which no others were found; but this she assured him was all she had taken. The man defended his innocence on the plea that the teeth would be of no use to him; for being poor, he could not sell them for any thing else, since every chief who could afford to give their value would question his right to them, and take them from him: and, for the

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to sea, and returned to the Fiji islands to lay in a second cargo.

The Fiji islanders make their canoes principally of a hard firm wood, called *fehi*, which is not liable to become worm-eaten; and as the Tonga islands do not produce this wood, the natives are not able to build canoes so large or so strong as those of their instructors: all their large canoes, therefore, are either purchased or taken by force from the natives of Fiji. The natives of Tonga take the greatest pains with their canoes, polishing them with pumice-stone, and paying every attention that they are not more exposed to the weather than is absolutely necessary. The canoes of the Navigator's islands are similar to those which were formerly in use at Tonga, but the natives of those islands never venture to the latter place but in canoes manned with Tonga people.

Fono le, carving ornaments out of whales teeth, for the neck, and inlaying clubs, &c. with the same material. This art, as far as it regards ornaments for the neck, is of Fiji origin; but inlaying clubs, wooden pillows, &c. is their own invention. An account of the ornaments for the neck has already been given, (Vol. I. p. 299.) They inlay their clubs with extraordinary neatness, considering the rude tool they employ, which is generally a *togi* (or small adze), made out of an European chisel, a piece of an old saw,

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or even a flattened nail, to which a handle is affixed. They only ornament those clubs which are considered good on account of their form, or the quality of the wood, or those which have done much execution: to the latter it used to be the custom to give a proper name. Those that make these ornaments are chiefly canoe-builders.

TOOFOONGA TA'BOO, superintendants of funeral rites: these, as the name indicates, have the regulation of every thing regarding burials of principal chiefs: they are generally mata-booles, and are always consulted respecting the preparations and forms of ceremony necessary on such occasions, and which are handed down by them from father to son.

TOOFOONGA TA MA'CCA, or makers of stone vaults for the burial of chiefs. The general form of these vaults has been already described, (Vol. I. p. 144.) The stones used for this purpose are about a foot in thickness, and are cut of the requisite dimensions, out of the stratum found on the beaches of some of the islands.

JIA COBE'NGA, net-making. This art is performed exactly in the same way as with us: the thread is made of the inner bark of a tree, which they call *olongá:* large nets, however, are made of plait, formed from the husk of the cocoa-nut.

TOOFOONGA TOTY'ICA, fishermen. All those

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who follow this profession are sailors: their mode of catching fish is chiefly with the net, though they sometimes make use of the line and hook.

LANGA FALLE, house-building. Every man knows how to build a house, but those whose business it is have chiefly to erect large houses on *maláis*, consecrated houses, and dwellings for chiefs. The general form of their houses is oblong, rather approaching to an oval, the two ends being closed, and the front and back open; the sloping thatched roof descending to within about four feet of the ground, which is generally supported by four posts; the larger houses by six, or sometimes more. The chief art in building a house consists in fastening the beams, &c. strongly, with plait of different colours, made of the husk of the cocoa-nut, in such a way as to look very ornamental; the colours, which are black, red, and yellow, being tastefully disposed. The thatch of the superior houses is made of the dried leaves of the sugar-cane, and which will last seven or eight years without requiring repair. The thatch of the common houses is made of matting formed of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and which lasts about two or three years; but being much easier to make than the other, it is more frequently used. The flooring is thus made: the

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342 ground, being raised about a foot, is beaten
352 down hard, and covered with leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, dried grass, or leaves of the ifi tree: over this is laid a bleached matting, made of the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.
342 The house consists, as it were, but of one
353 apartment, but which is subdivided occasionally by screens about six or eight feet high. In case of rain, or at night, if the weather is cool, they let down a sort of blind, which is attached to the eaves of the open sides of the house: these blinds are made of long mats, about six inches in width, one above another, and rather overlapping, and are so contrived as to draw up by means of strings, like our Venetian blinds, and are then concealed just within the eaves. The common houses have not these blinds, but, in place of them, a few mats hung up as occasion may require.

304 TA TATTÓW, striking the tattow. This
305 operation has already been described in the last
643 chapter, and nothing farther is here to be said,
648 except that Tooitonga is never tattowed at the Tonga islands; for it is not considered respectful to put so high a chief to so much pain, and if, therefore, he wishes to undergo this operation, he must visit Hamoa, (the Navigator's islands), for that purpose.

322 TONGI ACO'W, club carving or engraving.
531

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Formerly the whole of the clubs used to be engraved, but now this ornamental work is confined to the handle: it is executed with a great deal of neatness. A shark's tooth used to be the instrument, but now they make a sort of graver out of a nail flattened, sharpened, and fixed in a handle. Instances of their neatness in this sort of workmanship may be seen in our museums, and in the engraved representations of other works.

Fy CAVA, shaving the beard. They have two modes of performing this operation, viz. with the two valves of a certain kind of shell, which they call *bi'bi*, and with pumice-stone: the latter is used by the party himself who requires the operation; the former by those whose profession it is to shave others. The edge of one valve being pressed horizontally against the chin or lip by the left hand, that portion of the beard which appears upon it is rubbed or filed off by the rough back of the other valve. This operation is generally performed once in about eight or ten days. The heads of infants are always kept closely shaved; but this is done with a shark's tooth by the mother.

Fe OOMOO, the art of cooking. If refinement in cookery be one proof of the civilization of a people, the natives of the South Seas have

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alike; the grooved side of the mallet is chiefly used first, and the smooth side afterwards. They generally beat alternately: early in the morning, when the air is calm and still, the beating of gnatoo at all the plantations about has a very pleasing effect; some sounds being near at hand, and others almost lost by the distance, some a little more acute, others more grave, and all with remarkable regularity, produce a musical variety that is very agreeable, and not a little heightened by the singing of the birds, and the cheerful influence of the scene. When one hand is fatigued, the mallet is dexterously transferred to the other, without occasioning the smallest sensible delay. In the course of about half an hour it is brought to a sufficient degree of thinness, being so much spread laterally as to be now nearly square when unfolded; for it must be observed, that they double it several times during the process, by which means it spreads more equally, and is prevented from breaking. The bark thus far prepared is called *fetagi*, and is mostly put aside till they have a sufficient quantity to enable them to go on at a future time with the second part of the operation, which is called *cocanga*, or printing with *coca*. When this is to be done, a number employ themselves in gathering the berries of the *toe*, the pulp

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of which serves for paste; but the mucilaginous substance of the *mahoá* root is sometimes substituted for it: at the same time others are busy scraping off the soft bark of the *coca* tree and the *teoi-tooi* tree, either of which when wrung out, without water, yields a reddish brown juice, to be used as a die. The *cobéchi*, or stamp is formed of the dried leaves of the *páoongo* sewed together so as to be of a sufficient size, and afterwards embroidered, according to various devices, with the wiry fibre of the cocoa-nut husk*; they are generally about two feet long, and a foot and a half broad: they are tied on to the convex side of half cylinders of wood, usually about six or eight feet long, to admit two or three similar operations to go on at the same time. The stamp being thus fixed, with the embroidered side uppermost, a piece of the prepared bark† is laid on it, and smeared over with a folded piece of *gnatoo* dipped in one of the reddish brown liquids before mentioned, so that the whole surface of the prepared bark becomes stained, but particularly those parts raised by the design in the stamp: another piece of

* Making these *cobechis* is another employment of the women, and mostly women of rank.

† The edges of the beaten bark, which is generally hard, knotty, and ragged, are cut off straight.

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gnatoo is now laid on it, but not quite so broad, which adheres by virtue of the mucilaginous quality in the die, and this, in like manner, is smeared over; then a third in the same way; and the substance is now three layers in thickness: others are then added to increase it in length and breadth, by pasting the edges of these over the first, but not so as there shall be in any place more than three folds, which is easily managed, as the margin of one layer falls short of the margin of the one under it. During the whole process each layer is stamped separately, so that the pattern may be said to exist in the very substance of the *gnatoo;* and when one portion is thus printed to the size of the *cobechi*, the material being moved farther on, the next portion, either in length or breadth, becomes stamped, the pattern beginning close to where the other ended. Thus they go on printing and enlarging it to about six feet in breadth, and generally about forty or fifty yards in length. It is then carefully folded up and baked under ground, which causes the die to become somewhat darker, and more firmly fixed in the fibre; besides which, it deprives it of a peculiar smoky smell which belongs to the *coca*. When it has been thus exposed to heat for a few hours, it is spread out on a grass-plat, or on the sand of the sea-

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287 shore, and the finishing operation of *toogi hea*
531 commences, or staining it in certain places with
[386] the juice of the *hea*, which constitutes a brilliant red varnish; this is done in straight lines along those places where the edges of the printed portions join each other, and serves to conceal the little irregularities there; also in sundry other places, in the form of round spots about an inch and a quarter in diameter: after this the *gnatoo* is exposed one night to the dew, and the next day being dried in the sun, it is packed up in bales to be used when required. When *gnatoo* is not printed or stained, it is called *tapa*.

287 They make also an inferior kind of *gnatoo* of
[764] the bark of young bread-fruit trees, which, however, is coarse, and seldom worn, but is chiefly used for various purposes at funerals.

[462] The whole of these operations are performed
[565] by women: the embroidering of the *cobechis*,
[413] or stamps, is always done by women of rank.
[391] In respect to mat and basket-making, they have mats of various kinds, made of strips of
285 leaves or bark selected, dried, and otherwise
[462] prepared; all of which, except one or two of a coarser kind, are fabricated by women. The following are the names and qualities of them.

[291] *Gnafi gnafi*, mats to wear, of a finer quality, made of the leaves of the *fa* or *paoongo*, that

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have been transplanted, in order to give them a finer and softer texture. 285 [291]

Gie, stronger mats made of the bark of the *fow* or *olongá*, worn chiefly by people in canoes to keep out the wet, as the water does not damage them: they appear as if they were made of horse-hair. Labillardiere mentions that he saw a woman of rank with a sort of mat made of the white hair of a horse's tail. He supposed that it must have been procured from some horses that Cook had left there. 285 237 [292] [177]

Fálla, mats to sleep on, made of the leaves of the *paoongo*. These are double, and are of various sizes, from six feet by three, to seventy or eighty feet by six; to lie along the whole length of the house. 285 513

La, mats for sails, made of the leaves of the *fa*; they are very strong and light. 285 [501]

Tacapow, mats for flooring houses, made of the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree. [352]

Tattów, a sort of matting, plaited in a very ornamental way, made of young cocoa-nut leaves: they are used to screen the sides of houses from the weather. [353]

Cato, baskets: these are of various constructions; sometimes of a sort of matting made with the leaves of the *fa*, *paoongo*, *lo acow*, &c.; at other times of the fibrous root of the cocoa-nut tree interwoven with plait made of the husk [415] [531]

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of the nut, and have rather the appearance of wicker-work: the latter are sometimes variously stained and ornamented with beads or shells worked in. The larger and coarser baskets are generally made by men, to hold axes and other tools in: also the baskets used to hold victuals, made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, are generally made by men.

Bowlá, mats for thatching houses, are either made by men or women, but more frequently by the former.

Most of these mats, baskets, &c. are made by women of some rank as an amusing as well as profitable occupation, exchanging them afterwards for other things: (See p. 95 of this volume). Making of combs, the teeth of which consist of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut leaf, is also an employment of women of rank. Making thread is an occupation of females of the lower order: it is performed by twisting the separate parts of the thread, in the act of rolling them with the palm of the hand along the thigh, and by a return of the hand, twisting them together the contrary way. The material of the thread is the prepared bark of the *olongá*. Needles are generally made by carpenters out of human thigh bones, which are procured from their enemies slain in battle: the only use they have for them is to make sails.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

6. The references are to various mats of Tonga and to collecting them, figuratively, as a gift in honor of the dead man. The italicized words are names of mats. Tungua, Matuku, Uiha, Lifuka, are all in Haapai.

7. The reference is to the Tamaha (the daughter or son) of the Tui Tonga Fefine. The Tamaha lived in Tungua. Here she is called Falotuma, a species of hala. "Even if a mat obtained from Tungua should prove to be of not much account as a mat yet it derives value from its origin in the island of Tamaha" (12, pp. 178-189).

7a. "Mat of red feathers" means "mat adorned with red feathers." The form *hulu hula* is interesting, as the normal Tongan would be *fulu hula*. This form hints at the likelihood of the introduction of the adornment of mats with red feathers from some one or other of the groups of islands farther east.

8. Plover (*kiu*) and double-bird (*manulua*) are two of the designs used on the native cloth.

9. Toku is a name occurring in several parts of Tonga (21), but evidently here it is one or other of the places so named in Vavau.

10. Late is a high volcanic island southwest from the main part of the Vavau group. "Clothing for Mua" (the capitol) would be a mat of good kind that was customarily used as a dress for Mua.

11. The poet having finished what he has to say about the mats and cloth of Tonga will now sail to Samoa to collect further wealth. Ulamoleka is still remembered as a very expert navigator, and these lines give him the opportunity to use his knowledge of the stars. The names used, such as Amonga and Tupa (16, pp. 4-9) are star names. The opportunity of direct identification of the stars by their Tongan names seems to have passed irrevocably. Amonga, which is not included in my earlier list, is given by Pratt, for Samoa, as "The name of the stars which form the belt of Orion.' Alotulu seems to be another name for the same stars. A very important part of the equipment of the skillful navigator was the knowledge when to leave one star as a guiding mark and pass on to the next (compare "Then pass on and leave," line 49). These lines may recall a voyage which Ulamoleka and Falepapalangi had actually made in company to Samoa.

12. These lines seem to mean that Ulamoleka was able to keep his boat ahead of Falepapalangi's, probably recalling a voyage they had made.

13. Manuka, or Manua, the eastern part of Samoa.

14. Nafanua was a goddess of Savaii, one of the eastern islands of Samoa. She was the daughter of Saveasiuleo, god of Pulotu (36, p. 38; 26, vol. 1, p. 23). In Tongan myth Nafanua is the twin sister of Topukulu, and the daughter of Tokilangafonua and his sister Hina. Tokilangafonua went to Samoa and thither the twin sisters, who were then joined back to back, swam to find him. Their father on seeing them and not knowing who they were, made as though he would strike them; in their alarm the girls jumped apart and were separated. The girls did not know their father, and in their ignorance both became pregnant to him. Topukulu became the mother of the sea god Hemoanauliuli, and Nafanua, of the goddess Tafakula, of Eua. The lines in the poem would seem to mean that Falepapalangi was to remain in Savaii while Ulamoleka passed on eastwards to Manua, although the preceding lines would imply that they both went to Manua. Nafanua is one of the notable personalities on the way, and they turn aside to honor her, either by an actual going ashore and presenting kava at her temple, or, more probably, by the poet honoring her by remembrance in his verses.

15. Sau and Leiataua are said to be two chiefs in Samoa to whom Tongans used to go for mats.

16. The translation of this line uncertain.

17. The names mentioned are places in Fiji, which are now called upon to furnish their quota of fit presents.

18. The text at this place is bad and both text and translations are conjectural.

19. I can not find any appropriate meaning for the Tongan word *kouta*, and conjecture that it is the Fijian *ngguta* (strike), though it is doubtful if even this would give an appropriate meaning.

20. The "hidden wealth" is presumably the gift of the bard. Why this should weary him is difficult to see, unless the meaning is that while he had been thinking of mats and cloth for a present the hidden wealth of his muse has been longing to break forth.

21. With the picture of the pigeon not yet properly trained and breaking its

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

STONE DRESSING AND EMBELLISHING

In the best of the Tongan platform structures the stones were roughly shaped to fit the ends of adjacent stones but were not finally dressed until permanently placed in the walls. Then, if they were too thick to conform with adjoining stones, they were carefully sized; rough places were smoothed away and the tops of the walls were reduced to a uniform height. There is ample evidence of this practice in the small flakes of stone scattered about the structures and in the fact that many stones become abruptly thicker below ground, the shoulder being as much as 6 inches wide. Thus the visible portions of the walls were shaped to exhibit smooth, continuous surfaces and contours, while the buried foundations were left with rough surfaces and broken contours. 324 333 172

No mortar was used in Tongan stone construction. In the rougher structures the undressed stones were placed one upon the other, retaining their positions solely by their own weight and by that of surrounding stones. In the slab walls, which consist of a single row of stones placed upright, each slab was buried for about half its length to insure a reasonable degree of permanency of position. The edges of the stones were laboriously smoothed to make the closest possible contact, the depth of foundation burial being depended upon to make such contacts lasting. The roots of great trees have forced many stones out of position, but the number of slabs undisturbed is remarkable. In some structures a rather half-hearted and experimental effort has been made to scarf or mortise corner stones. In the tomb of Telea (p. 52), corner stones have been given an L shape to prevent spreading. 333 172 [324]

Aside from a rather neat surface smoothing, which varies in different structures, little was done in the way of ornamental embellishing. On two sides of the tomb of Telea the top of the basal tier is admirably bevelled. Aside from this, the only attempt at decorating stone surfaces is in the incising of petroglyphs, simple geometrical designs, on stones of the remaining walls (p. 78). These rare decorated stones are situated so haphazardly in the structure that they add nothing to a decorative scheme and have therefore little esthetic value. 324 172 531

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The *tanuanga* may be described as a small mound of earth or sand, similar in shape and size to European grave mounds. It needs no special consideration as it has no important bearing on Tongan archaeological problems. 172 764

The *faitoka* is normally a comparatively large mound of earth and sand, in shape a truncated cone with moderately sloping sides, containing from one to several buried stone vaults. The term *faitoka* includes not only the mound, which was more specifically called *foifaitoka*, but also a definite area surrounding the mound where a chieftain's important retainers and distant relatives were buried.

The langi is normally a rectangular platform or succession of platforms placed to constitute a stepped pyramid and supported by carefully constructed retaining walls of dressed stones. One or several stone vaults were buried under the flat top of the structure. The term *makapaipai* (*maka*, stone; *paipai*, stunted in growth), applied to langi stones, may imply a reducing from original size; in other words, stone dressing.

The stone vaults (*funualoto*), in both *faitoka* and langis are apparently of a single type. Each vault consists of six large, rectangular slabs of stone; one placed horizontally forms the bottom, four placed vertically on edge constitute the sides, and the sixth disposed horizontally forms the lid or cover. In some vaults the bottom piece was omitted.

Both *faitoka* and langis were, in a limited sense, family cemeteries. Each might contain many burials in one vault or in separate vaults. When several vaults were placed in one structure the area above each vault was marked by a relatively small surface mound (*fungaputu*), carefully constructed from fine, light colored sand. Such mounds were rectangular in outline, flat-topped and with sides sloping at the angle of rest of sand. Small, black, water-smoothed, volcanic pebbles of equal size, burnished with coconut oil to enhance their decorative value, were disposed solidly or in outline about the surface of the mound. These were called *kilikili*. Over each *fungaputu* a structure of usual dwelling house type (*faletolia*) was built to protect the decorative mound from the elements. The houses, save for rare traces, are now gone from the old tombs. House parts were found at only one site, langi Heketa, and these are of stone (p. 38). 324 331

Faitoka

Old *faitoka* were encountered near every old village and former village site observed. Their possible number has been considerably lessened by the practice of many families of using a single *faitoka* for many generations as a burial place for its ranking members. In spite of this fact, no less than eight well known *faitoka* were located in and about the small village of Maofanga, Tongatabu.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 173 [349] something closely resembling a defence, or at least a boundary to a restricted area. No known defenses of this type occur in Tonga, however. The Feletoa depression is by far too large to have its origin as traditionally related. These stories seem to illustrate rationalized explanations of peculiarities of unknown origin. The story of the Makave fill, allowing for exaggeration, seems the most possible of the lot. There are other Tongan stories of the reclaiming of land from the sea (p. 100).

PETROGLYPHS

172 531 Some petroglyphs on the island of Telekivavau, Haapai, first came to the attention of students through the efforts of Mr. Clement L. Wragge and Mr. Arthur Rounds. The group includes seven elipses, more or less circular, three of them with from one to two outer appendages and one of them with a series of more or less equidistant lines radiating outward from the rim. The remaining figures consist of an anthropomorphic representation with triangular body, closely associated with a small cross, and a line complex including as an important element a cross with arms each terminating in three prongs. The figures appear to be carelessly associated without suggestive organization.

Mr. Rounds reports the occurrence of a larger group of even simpler figures on the southwest end of the island of Tonumea, Haapai, situated on the shore line just above high water mark. I made diligent search for these but failed to find them. They probably had been covered with sand since Mr. Rounds' visit.

These are the only petroglyphs which had come to the attention of Tongan students previous to my visit. Petroglyphs of a type entirely different from 172 those on Telekivavau were found on the stone retaining walls of several of 531 the langis in Mua, Tongatabu.

764 Most of these, including the largest and most elaborate, are on the langi Katoa (p. 40) where designs appear on all four sides of this structure, but more on the south and east sides. All five terraces contain figured stones, their positions relative to each other suggesting no logical order.

The most simple motifs at Katoa consist of straight, parallel, perpendicular lines, placed at close intervals, entirely covering the vertical surface of a stone. Most of the incised stones are so corrugated. Tier two on the south side of the langi, however, contains four adjoining stones that are covered with simple but effective geometrical designs composed of perpendicular lines, diagonal lines, and chevrons, arranged in alternating groups or in more complex series. The pecked technique involves a very smooth execution. Whatever the original purpose of the figures may have been, the effect produced

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

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is pleasingly decorative. The designs are much like those on modern tapas (Pl. III, *C*; fig. 41, *a*).

Two pecked figures occur on the walls of the langi Tauhala (p. 55), both situated, though not immediately together, on the second stone from the southwest corner on the westernmost side. One figure consists of nine dots arranged in three lines of four, three, and two each. The other is made up of five, parallel, diagonal lines of equal length attached at corresponding ends to a vertical line (fig. 41, *b*). These figures have less of the appearance of purely decorative designs than those on the walls of Katoa.

Petroglyphs were also found on Nukulau (p. 48). One (fig. 41, *c*, 1) consists of a complex of oddly disposed straight lines and a single small circle. The technique of workmanship is the same as that of the other langi petro-

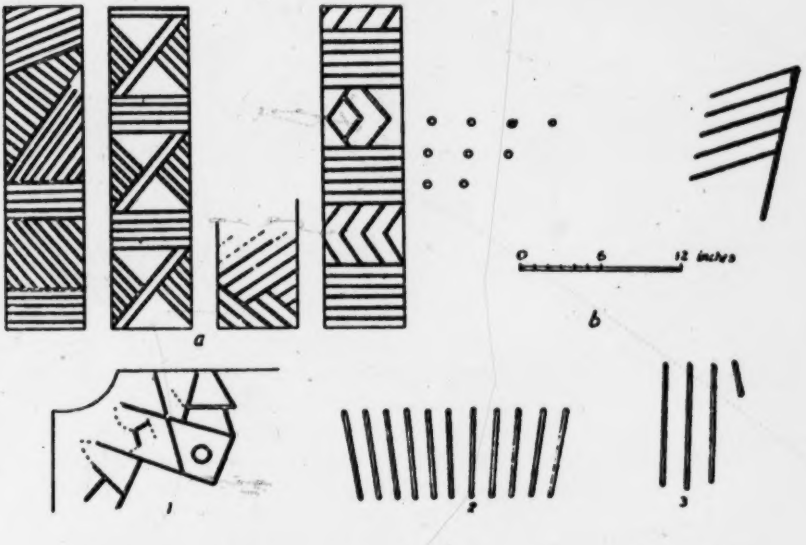

FIGURE 41.—Designs and petroglyphs: *a*, design incised on stones of langi Katoa; *b*, petroglyphs on langi Tauhala; *c*, petroglyphs on langi Nukulau—1, on northeast corner stone; 2, on easternmost wall; 3, on northernmost wall.

glyphs. Some of the lines are so faint as to be hardly recognizable. Although lacking design organization, it is quite conceivable that its original intent was decorative. Another petroglyph (fig. 41, *c*, 2) is a series of eleven nearly parallel lines of equal length slightly radiating upwards from an even horizontal base. This figure marks the left-hand corner of the outer vertical face

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

of the stone. A third petroglyph (fig. 41, *c*, 3) consists of three closely parallel, perpendicular lines of equal length with a fourth, shorter, diagonal line closely adjoining the right side of the group. On the stones of this langi are many other petroglyphs too poorly preserved to permit determining the detail of design. These all occur on the north and east sides.

It seems probably that most of the langi designs served a decorative purpose, although their production may have involved other ideas. The langis were the sacred resting places of the divinely descended kings, and were protected by divinely enforced tapus. The Christian natives of today avoid them. It is therefore reasonably certain that no impromptu inclination or careless and frivolous motive on the part of amateurs is responsible for the production of these drawings. Rather, they must have been authorized details of the langis. It is an interesting possibility that these designs are the initial products of a tendency towards the type of stone wall decoration so highly developed in some of the marae of the Marquesas (14, p. 133).

The Telekivavau petroglyphs are too simple and too few in number to constitute a basis for profitable comparison with the petroglyphs of other Oceanic provinces.

FORTIFICATIONS

Forms

The Tongans built elaborate fortifications. If their strategical or political importance warranted it, towns, even small villages, were protected. Fortifications were not always kept in good repair. When changing conditions decreased the danger of attack, forts were permitted to deteriorate and were not restored to defensive fitness until occasion made it appear necessary.

A fortification consisted of three essential elements: an earthen wall or embankment, several of them in some forts; a fence of upright posts or heavily reinforced reeds surmounting the embankment; a moat, in most forts dry, immediately surrounding the wall elements. Of less importance are lookout platforms and concealed pits serving as man-traps. Such a fort was called *kolo*, or if considered impregnable, *kokomalohi*.

The construction of a *kolo* started with the digging of the moat, the earth from which was thrown up on the inside bank of the ditch to constitute the embankment, *akolo* (a fence), as high and broad as the ditch was deep and broad. The steep, outer slope of the wall merged without a break into the equally steep inner slope of the ditch. Narrow breaks in the ditch, usually adjoining corresponding narrow gateways (*mctanikolo*) in the wall, permitted ingress and egress from the area fortified. The walls and moats

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 323 [531] apparently due to finger-smoothing by the potter. Some spatula striations are so smooth and regular as to suggest ornamental treatment. A good proportion of the material shows smooth surfacing of an inferior kind, free from major irregularities but possessing no marked finish. Lightly burnished surfaces are not uncommon and are usually associated with darker coloring.

172 323 531 Two methods of design were recognized, or one certain and a probable second method. The certain type of decoration consists of narrow, incised lines and accompanying series of dots, arranged in straight lines and small curves which seem to have been made with a sharply pointed instrument. This decoration is not common, occurring on only eleven pieces (Pl. VI, *A*). The doubtful type of decoration consists of corrugations, placed laterally about the vessel and roughly parallel. In two of the three pieces showing this technique, the decoration is near the rim. The pottery is characterized, from an ornamental standpoint, by its general lack of decorative treatment.

172 323 128 It is difficult to determine the original shapes of the pottery vessels represented by the sherds, due largely to the prevailing small size of the sherds. Attempts to fit sherds together to form larger elements were entirely without profitable results. The curves of various pieces suggested globose vessels 10 to 45 cm. in maximum diameter. Pieces ranged in thickness from 0.35 to 2.2 cm. The average thickness is about 0.75 cm. Other 172 323 pieces show a contact between a curving side and a flat surface, presumably a flat base. The approximate angle defined by such surface bends is anywhere from 25° to 45° (fig. 49, *b*).

Most of the 106 rim pieces are horizontally squared, the others rounded. In most sherds the rim is greater in diameter than that portion immediately below its lip. Generally the walls of the vessel narrow immediately preceding the rim, and swell with its culmination. In some specimens this ultimate swelling is greater than the actual breadth of the rim. Some straight rims have a uniform diameter throughout. There are no positive indications of bottles, or vessels with true necks. Some vessels appear to have contracted tops but wide orifices. In others the rim curls back with an outward flare, resulting in a funnel-shaped opening (fig. 49, *a*). Two pieces, both from the Nukualofa site, show evidence of a coiling technique of manufacture.

DISCUSSION

The available evidence certainly indicates that pottery was used in prehistoric Tonga. At several scattered places it was found, in stratified deposits, occurring most plentifully in strata free from evidence of European contact. Where European culture-bearing strata occurred, the pottery was

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

it was brought from Fiji, but neither of these writers, whose works include a great deal of material borrowed from previous reports, especially Mariner's, were above expressing an opinion as a fact, even when the opinion was appropriated from another writer, without personal investigation. Of the four writers, Cook was the most careful observer and authentic reporter, but his contribution is admittedly an opinion, of which Forster's statement is probably a reflection.

Burton (1, p. 52) has shown that the Fijians were the best potters in Oceania and it seems highly probable that Tongan pottery had its original conception in Fiji (Pl. VI, *B*), but it seems altogether improbable that the Tongans, using pottery rather extensively as it seems, went to Fiji for all their pots. The very character of the Tongan, with his alert resourcefulness, striking adaptibility, and eager readiness to learn, contradicts such a possibility.

Unfortunately, the amount and condition of the material available from Tonga is such that a direct comparison with modern Fijian specimens is not as profitable as could be wished. However, such a comparison bears some fruit.

Fijian pottery consists of red and brown ware, lightly fired (20, pp. 38-39). In these respects it is identical to Tongan ware. Fijian ware includes two distinct types, cooking pots and decorated vessels. The cooking-pot ware seems identical in material and surface to a large proportion of the Tongan potsherds. The decorated ware includes many prettily designed drinking cups, vessels with compound bodies, handled ware, and vessels with eccentric shapes, all more or less embellished with decorative fillets and nodes in salient relief, and with incised lines and simple patterns (8, pp 194-195). No examples of relief decoration, or of elaborate shapes, were found in examining the Tongan ware. Not even the broken fragment of a pottery handle was found. Incised lines and simple patterns decorate several of the sherds, but the design and technique differ materially from those I have seen on Fijian pottery, which is tempered with sand (24, p. 5). The Tongan pieces show no apparent tempering of any kind, but may contain a small amount of fine sand. The finer ware of Fiji is varnished, while still hot, with an application of the gum of the *dakau* (19, pp. 357-359). It is doubtful whether this surfacing would have long survived under conditions accompanying the accumulation of kitchen refuse. In any case, no such surfacing was seen on Tongan ware although some pieces exhibit smooth, semi-glossy exteriors. A red surface was applied to some Fijian vessels through the use of a vegetable stain (24, p. 5). A similar treatment may account for the unnaturally bright red surfaces of some Tongan sherds.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OUS

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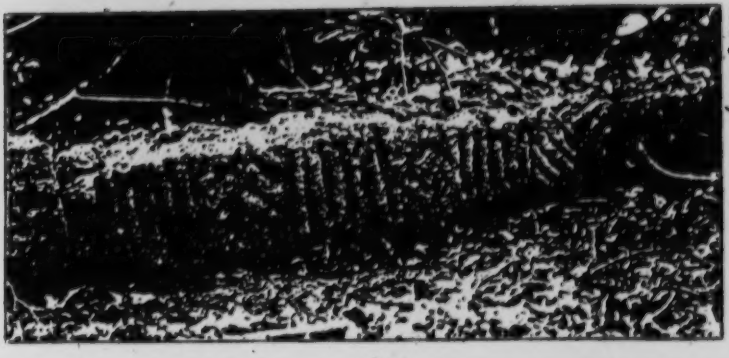

C

A, CORNER STONES OF THE LANGI LEKA, MUA, TONGATABU, SHOWING HOW THE CORNER STONES HAVE SPREAD AND THE RETAINING EARTH WASHED AWAY; B, MONUMENTAL STONE IN WALL OF THE LANGI TAUHALA, MUA, TONGATABU; C, INCISED DECORATIONS ON STONE OF THE LANGI KATOA, MUA, TONGATABU.

[End Plate 3]

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

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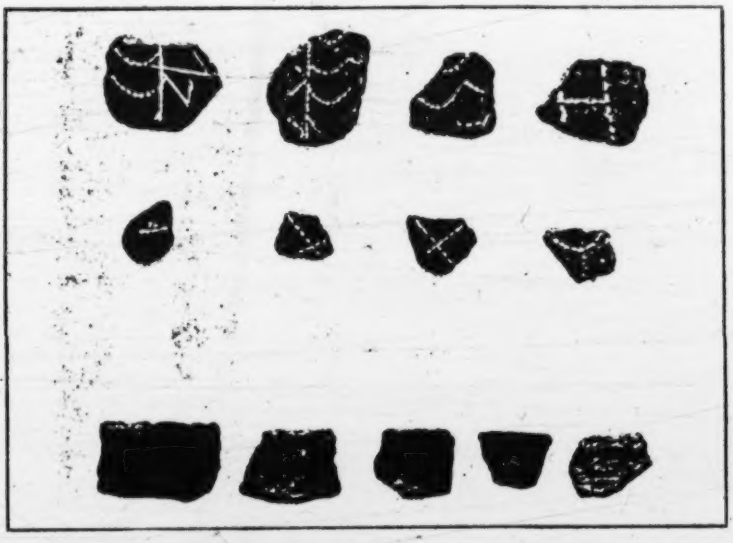

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B

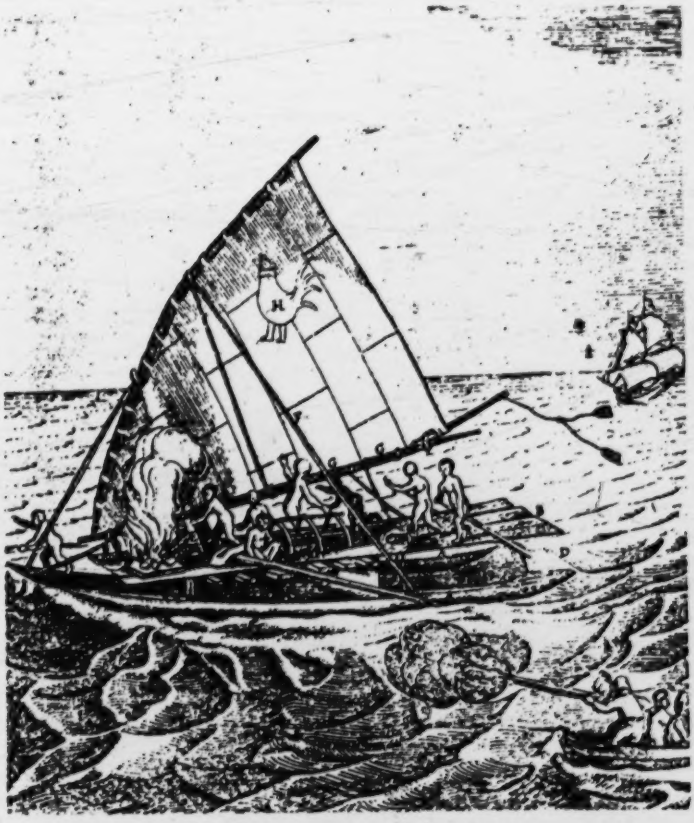
[128] A, POTSHERDS TAKEN FROM SITES IN TONGATABU, THE TOP TWO ROWS SHOW INCISED DECORATIONS (PAINTED WHITE TO FACILITATE PHOTOGRAPHY); THE BOTTOM ROW SHOWS RIM PIECES; B, FIJIAN POTTERY OF THE EINER TYPE, SHOWING SHAPE, INCISED AND MODELED DECORATIONS, AND VARNISHED SURFACES.

[End Plate 6]

10: Hornell E,N-4,5 (1925) 1936 OU9 Tonga OU9

175 501 [171] a *va'a tele*, their equivalent of the *tongiaki*, when going on a fishing excursion toward Uvea.] . . . The rig of these vessels is so excellent and they go so well under sail that there are few ships in Holland that could overhaul them. They steer them by means of two oars at the stern, one for each canoe.

175 501 285 531 Toward the upper end of the sail a figure representing a cock was outlined. This was evidently a common Tongan custom, for Forster (1777, vol. 1, p. 462), after remarking that some of these double canoes are large enough to carry 150 men, adds, "Their sails are latine, made of strong mats in which the rude figure of a tortoise or a cock, etc., is sometimes represented".



[291] [372]

FIGURE 189.—Tongan *tongiaki* seen off Tafahi in 1616 (from Schouten, 1619).

175 501 Twenty-seven years later, when Tasman discovered the Tongan islands (1643), this fine double canoe so impressed him that he devoted a whole page of his journal to the illustration of one under full sail (1898, fig. 2); another drawing shows two of the same kind of craft at anchor. (See fig. 190.)

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Vavau
Pangai

287 464 571 461 [433] A group of say, sixteen women will make anything up to three hundred fathoms of bark cloth in one day's work. The length prepared is divided among all the women who shared in the work. Each household tries to keep from one to three hundred fathoms of cloth always on hand. This supply should last the household from one to four years, depending upon the size of the household, the number of gift occasions in which it participates, and the incidence of *tapu* mourning-occasions.

287 53 [435] [426] The stencilling of prepared barkcloth is a laborious job. There are relatively few stencils to be found in Pangai today. In terms of money-value, a new stencil costs from three to five pounds to make, depending upon the intricacy of the required design. Stencils are often borrowed. With their return to the owner would go a gift of from twenty to fifty fathoms of bark cloth according to the acknowledged value of the stencil. Stencils newly made today show a wide variety of designs and motifs. Besides the more orthodox flower and geometrical designs, stencils may include motifs which range from imaginative conceptions of the Tongan flag to the names of the main streets in Nukualofa. Many [178] women in Pangai today are not bothering with stencils. They are decorating their bark cloth with freehand finger-painted designs. The orthodox Tongan dyes for bark cloth [386] give two colours only: black and a reddish-brown. Today some women find commercial dyes bought at the store less [178] troublesome and more pleasing to use. To the European eye these store-colours are often garish and crude as compared with the softness of the native dyes.

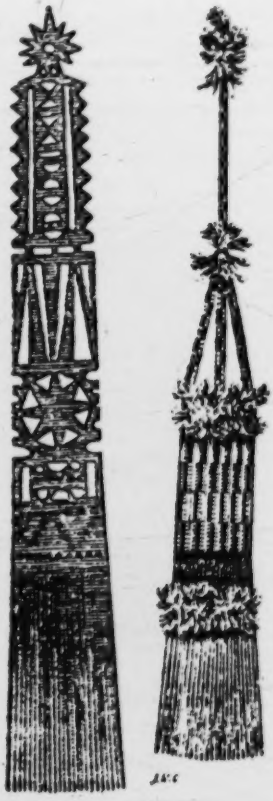
MAT-MAKING

285 The mats made by the Pangai women range from rough floor mats to the finer sleeping mats and, finest of all, the mats which function as skirts *(vala)*[10] to be worn on occasions

291 292 285 [10] The *vala* which for shortness' sake we translate as "skirt" (though the word skirt is likely to call up quite the wrong semantic association), consists of a rectangular piece of bark cloth or cotton piece-goods or a fine mat. It is worn wrapped round the waist, hanging from waist to ankles or just above them. For ordinary wear men fasten the *vala* at the waist with a leather belt; for ceremonial wear, with a sennit belt. Men wear the *vala* for everyday use. Men and [576] women alike wear the ceremonial mat-*vala* on all occasions when respect and humility require symbolization.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

was a thorough understanding. The chief saw that the regular offerings to the spirits were not stinted; the priest, possessed by his god, retained sufficient self-command to gasp prophecies in remarkable accordance with the chief's interest. That they, like the Augurs, could meet without grinning, was doubtless due to the grim reality of the risk that often attached to the sacerdotal office; for was not the priest of Tubou Totai already doomed to be strangled for failing to restore Finau's daughter, when sudden death overtook his patron? Even seventeen years before the arrival of the first missionaries, the chiefs did not care to conceal their scepticism; and perhaps, if the tragic death of Finau had not seemed so signal a revenge of the outraged gods, the missionaries would have found that the ancient faith had crumbled away of itself before their arrival.



Combs.

The influence of the priests had been so slight that, even with the fear of seeing their occupation gone, they could oppose no obstacle to the new creed. They are scarcely mentioned even by missionaries. The opposition came from the chiefs them-

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 0U9 Tonga 0U9

mark as she grew, and of the wonderful beauty which made her the wife of one Tui Tonga and the mother of another, does not concern our present purpose. It seems, too, that women became pregnant by bathing in a pond sacred to the god Tui Haafakafonua.

Tattooing has largely fallen into disuse amongst modern Tongans. Indeed some seem to be uncertain whether it be a thing of home growth, or an exotic introduced from Samoa, where it is still extensively practised. It is undoubtedly certain, however, that tattooing was common in Tonga at least a century ago. So far I have been able to find only one instance where the markings had a clear totem or religious significance, namely in the tattooing of the bird called the *kalae* (a rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his worship. Something more will be said later about the individual gods, but the people who held the *kalae* sacred were in the habit of tying together a bunch of these birds, and taking it about with them. Such a bunch of sacred birds was tattooed on the throat of the priest. In general the artists who performed the operation of tattooing chose their designs in accordance with their individual notions of beauty, and gained reputation by the artistry of their work. Although most of the gods had their sacred animal, or other object, it is not certain whether this was quite universal, there apparently being deities whose manifestation was merely through their priests; but a negative is ever hard to prove, and after hearing in one quarter that a particular god had no sacred animal one may later stumble on an informant able to supplement his previous information. There are also cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was sacred, but nobody seems to know to what god. However, from time to time there may come opportunities to rectify some at least of the gaps in the tradition.

The best illustration of what I have been so far able to gather about the old Tongan deities can be given by setting forth what my informants have told me. These notes make no claim to completeness, and fuller information may supplement, or correct, much of what follows. It is, however, probably a fair sample, giving generally correct outlines of the native's outlook on his religion, however inadequate it may be in details. Unfortunately the time when reliable information can be gathered about many matters interesting to the student of primitive practices is fast slipping away. There are living to-day very few Tongans able to give a trustworthy and full account of any part of the older faith, and of those who, from motives of patriotism or intelligent curiosity, have been interested in hearing and remember what they could of their people's past, hardly one has himself witnessed anything of the ancient practices. Where possible both the names of the gods and of their sacred objects have been given, but there are instances in which one or the other has been forgotten by the Tongans with whom I have discussed these matters.

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

to indicate the attitude of mind of the church members. Needless to say the case has its heathen parallels.

Although the worship of the ancient deities is dead, nevertheless there was living in Tongatapu Island in 1921, one Kautai, who had only a few months before been installed as priest of the shark-god Taufa. Though the worship of Taufa has perished and his sanctuary is no more, still the title of his priest lives, each patrilinear successor having the title conferred on him by the reigning monarch. The present Kautai is a good Roman Catohlic. This perpetuation of ancient titles is common in Tonga. Ancient powerful chiefs are represented to-day by individuals bearing the same titles, but utterly shorn of power.

Three ancient deities still manifest themselves. One is Fehuluni, a disembodied human spirit, who sometimes appears as a male, sometimes as a female, and usually in a siren role. A native fired at a feminine manifestation of this deity with a shot gun, only to find a dead lizard at the spot where the apparition was seen.

Another deity much feared is the lizard god Tui Haa Fakafanua. His headquarters in Tongatabu are within Catholic precincts where was formerly his sacred pool. Convent girls shun the spot, for the evil reputation of the god for causing feminine ills still lives.

Seketoa, a fish god of Niuatoputapu Island, has been much in evidence in recent years. His incarnation is a great fish which follows boats near Niuatoputapu. His presence in those waters is unimpeachably attested by both Tongan and European observers.

The royal tombs of Tonga are truncated, terraced pyramids, anciently of enormous blocks of coral sandstone. In recent decades the material utilized has been concrete. Tongans will not walk over a royal tomb, no matter how ancient.

Graves of commoners are marked by little terraced mounds decorated with a mosaic of small stones of different colours. To-day the designs are more intricate than anciently, the coloured linoleum and title advertisements of magazines having furnished ideas for new geometric designs.

Ghosts now and then manifest themselves as of old. In 1921, a Catholic girl, gathering shellfish with women on

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

The original label that went with the sitting image reads as follows: "Household Goddess of the Emperor of Tonga and part of the dress worn by him when he worshipped the Devil." The label confirms the locality of the image, and, as Tafaahau became the ruler of Tonga, the image evidently formed one of the group that Tafaahau abandoned in 1830. It is the only image that I know of that has been carved in a sitting position and is hence unique. In spite of the mutilation, the lines of the body and the thighs show good workmanship.

The ivory image is thus described by Mr. Oldman in his letter: "Very old and much worn with handling, stained a deep orange-yellow of beautiful tone and with symmetrical deeper coloured markings on front of body and lower legs and on posterior. Arm has been fractured. I consider it one of the finest little gems I possess." A line drawing of the print is shown in fig. 4.

The Oldman ivory image, while typically Tongan, is not quite so realistic in treatment as the largest ivory image in the British Museum or the Fuller wooden image. From the treatment of the eyes and the comparatively wide width of the shoulders, it stands between these more realistic images and the more conventionalized types in the Oldman collection shown in figs. 1 and 2.

The dress worn by Tafaahau when he took part in the religious service of his own culture, rather snobbishly described as "worshipping the devil," consisted of bark cloth, and from its narrow width it was evidently a sash or a perineal band *(malo)*. As specimens of cloth of authentic early manufacture should be regarded as type specimens for future study, a drawing made from Mr. Oldman's photograph is shown in fig. 5, *a*.

Mr. Oldman included in his pictures, two clubs with projecting bosses on the expanded heads of the clubs. These bosses are shaped in a form similar to the flat faces with pointed chins of the Tongan images, and they have elongated triangular projections which correspond in position and shape to the noses of the images. Though eyes and mouth are not represented, I agree with Mr. Oldman in his opinion that this conventionalized motive has been derived from the faces of the Tongan images. It is probable, therefore,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

27: buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

that these clubs illustrate types that were used in Lifuka, the locality with which the images are definitely associated. See fig. 5, *b* and *c*.

Fig. 5.

Tongan Cloth and Clubs

a—Tongan bark cloth: period of 1830 before foreign influence affected native patterns; oblique parallel lines forming long chevrons. *b*—Tongan club with expanded head showing bosses in form of face and nose, similar to those of wooden images in figs. 1 and 2. *c*—Tongan club similar to *b* but with raised zig-zag vertical lines between the bosses.

Type-specimens

Anthropology in the branch of material culture has certain advantages and disadvantages. The advantages exist in the fact that artifacts now no longer obtainable in their country of origin have been preserved in museums and private collections. The disadvantages are that many valuable specimens, after passing through various hands, have become inaccurately labelled as to locality and, furthermore, that owing to their not having been described in anthropological literature, they are inaccessible to the student who cannot make a tour of the world's museums and private collections.

In order to promote accurate study by students and correct identification by museum authorities, it is necessary in the cause of science that really old artifacts, of which the history and locality have been accurately determined, should be recorded in the literature as type-specimens. Once

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Capable of inflicting instant death, this splendidly-designed throwing club is reminiscent of dauntless warriors in Tonga's past. Since warfare in the past was mainly carried out at close range on a man-to-man basis, Tongan weaponry consisted mostly of spears, bows and arrows, and clubs. When thrown, the heavily weighted head of a throwing club such as the one pictured here reversed and gave tremendous impact to the blow. Measuring about fourteen inches in length, this Tongan club is preserved today at the Palace Office in Nuku'alofa.

Lavanoa ke tamate'i 'aki ha taha. Ko e taha eni e ngaahi povai na'e fai 'aki e tau 'a e kau Tonga he taimi ko e. Na'a nau lahilahi ngaue'aki pe 'a e tao, ngahau mo e povai. Na'e 'iloa foki e poto mo e to'a 'a e kau Tonga 'i he mala'e tau. Na'e fu'u fakatu'utamaki 'aupito foki hono ngaue'aki e ngaahi povai hange ko ia 'oku ha heni. Ko e povai ko 'eni 'oku tauhi ia 'i he 'ofisi Palasi, Nuku'alofa.

[p.9-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

342 nearby Samoa, was an oval structure with roof
283 thatching made from sugar cane leaves or coconut
284 fronds, and with exquisite sennit lashing on the inside rafters. Tongan clubs were characterized by
411 skillfully-incised, geometric surface patterns, at
531 times by inlaid pieces of pearl shell or whale's tooth,
237 and occasionally by designs depicting animals (zoomorphs) or humans (anthropomorphs); these decorations were sometimes applied over a period of time, certain bits of ornamentation being added in commemoration of a particular battle victory.[A2]
532 Carved statues, which were used to a minor degree as representations of deities, were usually wooden and female, with a rounded, stout body and an oversized head. The few, excellent ivory statue carvings from Ha'apai preserved today in museums are considered to be among the finest creative art pieces in the history of the Pacific.[B3]

[p. 10-A]

A [See category 411, pp. 9A, 10B and 11--Analyst]

B [See category 532, p. 8--Analyst]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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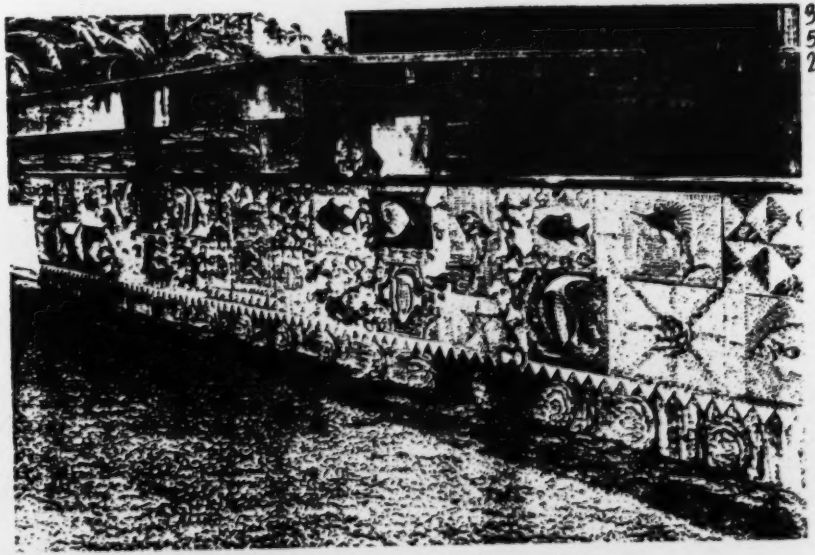

Shells, inlaid in elaborate designs, were sent from all over the Tonga Islands to adorn the exterior wall of *Tufumahina* (above), the home of Princess Pilolevu near Pea, several miles outside of Nuku'alofa. This artistic, unique use of shells is more clearly revealed in the close-up (opposite page, top).

Ko e ngaahi tau nga'asi fingota faka'ofo'ofa mo'oni na'e 'omi mei he feitu'u kehekehe 'o Tonga ke tautau'i 'aki e 'api 'o e ta'ahine ko Pilinisesi Pilolevu 'i Tufumahina (ta 'i 'olunga). 'Oku 'ilonga lelei 'i he ta 'i he tafa'aki 'e taha 'a e faka'ofo'ofa mo maqni mo'oni 'a e ngaahi koloa ni.

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[Caption for this photo is on page 18]

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"Langa Fonua" is the women's handicraft co-operative which has grown over the past decade, with the support of Queen Salote and Queen Mata'aho, into a prominent association. It helps people in villages and islands off the route of cruise ships to organize and send their crafts to the *Langa Fonua* shops in Nuku'alofa (shown here) and Neiafu, Vava'u to be sold to tourists.

'Oku kole lelei 'aupito 'a Langa Fonua he ngaahi 'aho ni. Kuo 'osi mahalo eni ha ta'u e hongofulu hili 'a hono 'uluaki kamata 'o e kautaha fakamea'a fetokoni'aki ni, pea 'asili foki 'a hono fai malohi e ngaue ni koe'uhi ko hono poupou'i 'e Kuini Salote, pea mo Kuini Mata'aho foki. 'Oku 'i ai foki e falekoloa 'e taha 'o e Langa Fonua 'i Nuku'alofa ('a ia 'oku 'asi 'i he ta) pea taha 'i Neiafu.

[p. 19]

(4) Individual strips of inner bark are then pieced together, and patterns are imprinted upon the tapa cloth by laying it on relief design tablets attached to a long, convex board (*papakoka'anga*—see photo below: Mu'a) and by rubbing to make the raised designs underneath appear. (5) Some relief design tablets or *kupesi* (made of tiny midribs from coconut leaves) are displayed at upper right by 'Emelita Kautai Johnston. (6) In the final stage, the brownish designs are outlined with black dye (photo at lower right: Houma, Tongatapu). A single tapa cloth averages 75 feet in length, and is later cut up into smaller pieces as needed—e.g. for bedding, funerals, marriage gifts.

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(4) Ko ha koka'anga eni 'i Mu'a, Tongatapu (ta 'i lalo), 'a ia 'oku fai ai 'a hono hokohoko 'o e ngaahi kongokonga feta'aki 'aki e mahoa'a. (5) Ko 'Emelita Kautai Johnston eni mei Mu'a (ta 'i to'omata'u ki 'olunga) mo ha ngaahi kupesi. (6) Ko e konga fakamuimui 'i he ngaue ni 'a hono tohi (ta 'i to'omata'u ki lalo), 'o hange ko ia 'oku fai heni 'i Houma, Tongatapu.

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[p.24]

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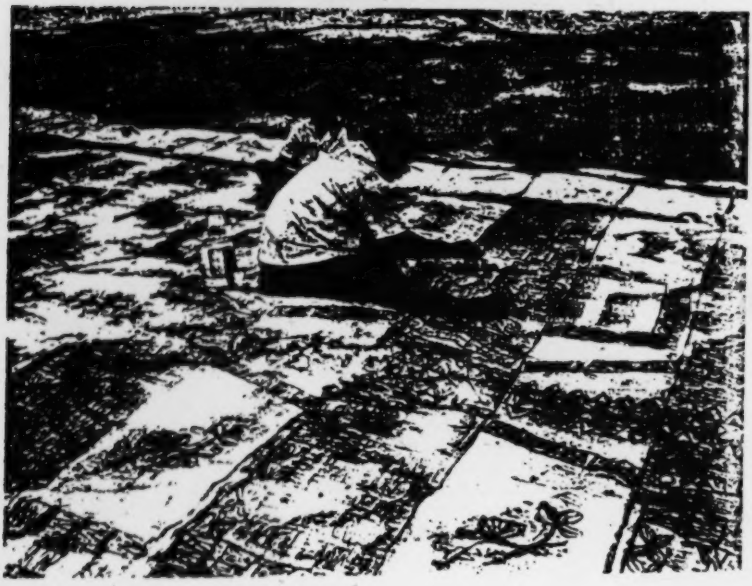

[p.25]

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

534 565 [287] [517] as a woman beating tapa in one house will join her rhythm to that of the women beating tapa in houses around her. Aesthetic complexity by the addition of parts which in themselves were simple was encouraged by the social structure (rather than a complexity achieved by a more specialized individual). The complex and interesting musical product required the participation of several unspecialized individuals, who by their very participation sanctioned the stratified social system. The panpipe made it possible for one person to emulate this musical conception and thus use a similar kind of music in a nonchiefly or individual context.

534 175 The second line of evidence follows from the relative number of panpipes and noseflutes over time using specimens in museum collections for which the provenance is known. As shown above, panpipes were relatively abundant during the second voyage of Captain Cook. Others can be traced to Cook's third voyage and there is mention in Labillardière. In the 19th century they disappear from the record except for the five-pipe variety which may, by that time, have become mainly a [113] toy. On the other hand, Tongan noseflutes, whose provenance is Cook's second voyage, are at the most only four in number (Oxford, Göttingen, and two depicted in Volume I of the Stone drawings from the Leverian Museum, one of which is now in Vienna [Kaeppler, in preparation, a]). One can be traced to Cook's third voyage (Berne), and for one the voyage cannot be determined (Vienna). All six of these have the placement of holes distinctive of early Tongan noseflutes, i.e., three holes on the upper surface of the flute (one near each end and one at the middle), one hole on the under side (opposite the middle hole), and one hole on each side surface of the flute (one between the middle and nose hole and one between the middle and end hole)[20]; see figs. 10 and 16 [531] left. Often they were beautifully decorated with geometric designs and occasionally wrapped with braided coconut fiber. This small number of examples suggests that they may, indeed, have been used mainly in the service of chiefs and there were not many superfluous ones around. Webber made a drawing of a man playing a noseflute but he did not make a drawing of a panpipe in use. This may be because he usually depicted the affairs of chiefs, or he did not see a panpipe being played, or he did not consider it important.

534 Tongan noseflutes in museum collections that do not come from

A /see pp. 125 and 127--Analyst/

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

333 of a sting-ray fited upon a piece of wood, served as a polisher; for
[412] small work they make use of Sharks teeth and Shells.
[237] *Tillage* The Instruments for *Tillage*, in which they may be said to vie with Europeans, are nothing more than Pickets, or
241 Stakes of different lengths according to the depth they have to dig,
412 they are flaten'd and sharpened to a edge at one end and the largest have a short piece fastened transversely a little above it, for pressing it into the ground with the foot. With these, though they are not more than from two to four inches broad, they dig and plant ground of many acres in extent.

721 *War and Weapons* The art of War is not unknown to these people though perhaps they practise it as little as any nation upon earth; for except their occasional disputes with Fidge[e], before mentioned, they seem to have no Enimies round them. Their
713 Weapons are clubs of defferent sorts, in the making, or rather Ornamenting of which they spend much time, Spears and darts; they have
411 bows and arrows but they seemed to be designed only for amusement and not as a Military weapon.[1]

642 *Goverment* Of the nature of Goverment we know no more than the general out line, a subordination is established among them that resembles the feudal system; but of its subdivisions of the Constituent parts and in what manner connected to form one body
[643] politic I confess my self totally ignorant.[2] Some have told us that the
[565] power of the King is unlimited and that the life and property of the
[421] Subject is at his disposal; but the few circumstances that fell under our observation, made more against than for a dispotic Goverment though we saw instances of both, and some that clearly shewed that
643 the lower order of people have no property but at the will of their
634 masters.[3] On the other hand *Marriwaggy*, Old *Toobough* and *Feenough*, acted each like petty Sovereigns and frequently thwarted the meas-

[223] [1] They shot pigeons with them, as an aristocratic diversion.
[565] [2] Not without reason, considering the complicated nature of the Tongan power-
[517] structure. I do not annotate some of the sentences that follow, in which Cook repeats statements already annotated, however erroneous they may be.

[3] '. . . we saw instances, where present Passion seem'd to be their only guide, & where had they killd the Objects of their wrath they woud have been amenable neither to justice nor to a superior; but as the common people by no means appear dispirited or any way broken by harsh or cruel treatment, It seems pretty certain that the mildness & benevolence of their masters, insures them against an ill use of their Authority. . . . Upon the whole the Friendly Islanders have the appearance of enjoying most of the Advantages aris'ing from a regular Government, few even surpass them in the great order they observe on all Occasions, in their ready compliance with the Commands of their Superiors, & the great harmony which subsists amongst all ranks; & none in the general sweetness & mildness of their tempers. We see many things worthy of imitation, few of blame; wou'd to God they cou'd say the same of us, but we have left them an incurable disorder which will for ever embitter their quiet & happy lives, & make them curse the hour they ever saw us.'—King.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

here, though they are rather intended as conveniencys to their dwellings than a shelter to the plantations. They are made by passing two reeds together obliquely upwards over two others, and so on in such a manner that they form a pretty lattice work with rhomboidal spaces of about two inches to a side, though there are others made quite close by placing five or six together alternately over and under each other. The uneven tops are left uncut and the foot kept clean by digging up the grass with the Hooo, by which care & frequent repairs they seem to last a long time.

It is not easy to guess why these people who in many things show much taste and ingenuity should fall short in building their houses, not so much in the execution but design. Those of the lower people are poor huts scarcely sufficient to defend them from the weather and very small. Those of the better sort are larger and more comfortable but not what one would expect. The dimensions of a middling one is about thirty feet long, twenty broad and twelve high. It is properly speaking a sort of roof or shade, rounded at the ends, reaching to within two feet and a half (or three at most) of the ground all round, under which they creep in. It is supported by strong posts plac'd commonly at equal distances a little within the edge, with others laid along upon their tops and some laid across from these, which again have perpendicular ones rising from their middle to support the top ridge. These are firmly lash'd together with a cord made of Cocoa nut fibres, in which they indicate their taste for variety by mixing white and black so as always to represent som[e] regular figure. The frame on which the thatching is supported consists of well made laths laid in a very regular manner from top to bottom, with others running across in the same manner without them & fastend with the Cocoa cord. The thatch is chiefly of Cocoa & other leaves laid over these laths in such a way, by being doubled under them & intercepted by the next, that they need little fastening and to a thickness which makes them proof against the rain or wind. Some of the principal people have houses almost twice as large, and the Ma'laees or houses of public resort which are pretty numerous are still larger; but there is a sort commonly smaller than the dwelling houses, almost round and well clos'd on every side with reeds plac'd close together, except a small square hole to creep in at. These serve as store houses to preserve their cloth, matts, yams & other spare things in that their dwelling places may not be incumbered, and are so contriv'd that the reeds composing the sides point outwards, so that it seems to stand upon a narrow base, which with the thatch projecting over a little way effectually prevents any rain getting in. The houses of the

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

pleas'd with hearing the Heeva of our two young New Zeelanders (from this change) which consists rather in mere strength than melody of expression.

Their weapons are clubs & spears which cost them a good deal of time & labour, the first being made of a solid piece of hard heavy wood either black or brown, but chiefly that of the E'tóá tree. They are of various shapes but that they seem fondest of, & which they always us'd in their public diversions, is one shap'd like a lance at the blade but a good deal broader in the middle.[1] These are commonly plain, but a great number of the others which are somewhat quadrangular (except the handle) and broadest at the point are entirely carv'd in that part with lines, little triangles & other figures, sometimes with great nicety, and they frequently venture to make likenesses of Fish, Birds & men fighting but are poor imitators in that respect. The spears are made likewise of a hard brown or black wood (though sometimes from the Cocoa tree) from five & six to twelve feet long or more, generally simply pointed but sometimes beset all round with the ragged bones of the stingrays tail for a foot at the point. They also make bows and arrows, the first near six feet long, slender and neatly made with a groove for the reception of the arrow on its back part. The last are almost as long, being only a reed with a blunt wooden point which they only use to shoot birds with, but what is a little uncommon the bow is bent and drawn contrary to the direction of its natural curve. The stools are about two feet long but only four or five inches high and near four broad, bending downwards in the middle with four strong legs & circular feet, the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood neatly polishd & sometimes inlaid with bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of fly flaps with ivory[2] after being neatly carv'd, and make small figures of men, birds and other things from bone, which must be very difficult as their carving instrument is only a Sharks tooth.

The floors of their houses are always coverd with a very coarse kind of matt made from the Cocoa leaf as taken from the tree without any preparation. They sit upon these cross legg'd, a posture they are so accustom'd to that they cannot do the smallest thing without being in it. The better sort have often a finer matt to sit on, & the same is us'd as a bed with a stool under their heads when they go to sleep and a covering of the pieces of cloth they wear. Men, women & children lye in the same place without seperation, unless a few who have a

[1] The foregoing sentence seems to be describing a spear, *tao*, the next one the clubs, *akau*, even though in the one next succeeding Anderson reverts to spears. Both were made of Toa, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

[2] Again whale tooth ivory, Tongan *ivi*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

283 Their Cordage is another considerable article which they make of
[226] the rind of the Cocoa nut. Some of this they have of a thickness of a
[284] 4 or 5 inch rope, which is used in the rigging of their Canoes; fishing & other small Lines they make exceeding neat and strong from the Fibres of a Plant[1] & of these Lines they make excellent fishing Nets.

285 These people excell in making baskets, of which they have 3 or four different Sorts & sizes all made of the rind of the Cocoa nut; one kind is made very strong which is that in most common use, another which is more for Shew are made exceedingly neat & beautiful with white beads & sometimes red feathers worked in them, these we esteemed as some of the greatest Curiosities among them; a third sort are constructed in an odd manner & have a very antique Appearance which made us compare them to Cathedrals[2]—they have other Sorts
391 still but those above mentioned are the principal. Their other
412 Manufactures consist of their weapons of war which have been already mentioned, their fishing Tackle of various Sorts, much like
301 those of Otaheite, their working Tools which consists of an Adz
306 made of blue Stone, a Shark's Tooth fastened to the end of a Stick for
237 a graving Tool, and Files and their Jewellery, such as Necklaces of various Sorts, some made of small shells of various colours & prettily disposed, others of the Legs of fowls, which however odd they may Sound, these people contrive to make into ornaments for their women's Necks and are no bad ones.

501 Their Canoes are of two Sorts, double & single and of a very curious construction & well finished & must cost them much Labour, they consist of several pieces of plank very ingeniously adapted to each other & sewed together on the inside of the Canoe; the single ones are in general large enough to hold six people, have an outrigger to them & are covered over with a deck at the Head and Stern under
[531] which they stow the different articles they carry in them. On these decks they fasten 10 or a dozen white Shells as ornaments & at the stern there is a Support for a fishing rod which they generally carry along with them. The double or sailing Canoes are built large & strong with a Stage, on which a Hut is built. Some of them are capable of carrying 80 or 100 Men & can keep the Sea a long time
[285] in these Latitudes. Their Sails are made of strong Matting & have
[531] generally the Image of a Cock upon them.

534 Their musical Instruments consist of a Flute, a small instrument called by the Natives Meemeeah,[3] and Drums. The Flute is made
[824]

[1] Tou, *Pipturus argenteus*; or Fau, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.
[2] It is hard to guess what Samwell means by this—perhaps the top edge of some baskets, like an immense saw-tooth.
[3] *nimiha*, Pan-pipe.

70: Skinner A-5 (1965) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u

FRAGMENT OF A CARVED BOX FROM VAVA'U

H. D. Skinner

In Vava'u in October, 1965, Tufua 'Utoikamanu showed me a number of pieces illustrating material culture of earlier times. Among them was a fragment about 48 inches long of a carved rectangular box made of breadfruit wood. She told me she had received it as a gift from her father, Fekaleaki 'Utoikamanu, who stated that he had secured it at Tu' anikivale, Vava'u. When complete it had been used to hold arrows (*nga hau*). Tufua believes the surface shown is the side of the box, but it seemed to me to be part of the bottom. Along one edge of the side it has two chisel-cut holes. It would appear that through these holes passed the cords attaching lid to body. Fekaleaki said he had intervened to preserve the fragment when the box had been carelessly mishandled. The decorative motive represents interlacing series of cords or braids, a motive frequently present in the decorative pattern of Tongan war clubs. This same motive is present also in Tongan stone work.(1) The box appears to be related to the Maori treasure-boxes often loosely called *waka-huia*.

Fekaleaki stated that many years ago his nephew told him he had been present when a body was being moved from an ancient grave. When the dressed stone slabs enclosing the grave were moved a wooden box was seen enclosing bones and hair. The coffin was decorated precisely in the style of the box here figured.(2) When exposed to outside air the coffin crumbled to dust. The human hair and the bones were wrapped in fresh mats and were buried in a new grave.

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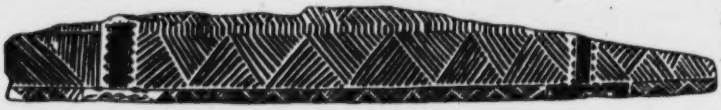
McKern, W. C., 1929. *Archaeology of Tonga.* Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 60.



1. McKern 1929: Plate IIIC. "Incised decorations on stone of the Langi Katoa, Mua, Tongatabu". Stone on right has pattern identical with that on box fragment.
2. The line drawing is by K. M. Peters.

[434]

175 304 The women, however, were exempted from this custom of disfiguring themselves, and had only a few black dots on their hands. But besides these, both sexes had three spots on the arms, consisting of concentric circles of punctures, without any blacking, which I have 175 mentioned before. The men in general went almost naked, having only 291 a small bit of cloth round the loins. Some, however, wore a dress [171] nearly resembling that of the women. This was a long piece of cloth [531] made of bark, in the same manner as the Taheitee cloth, but afterwards painted chequerwise, or in patterns nearly resembling our painted floorcloths, and covered with a size, which turned the wet for a long while. This they wrapped round their waist, the men nearly about their middle, the women more immediately under the breast, and in [171] both it commonly descended below the knees. Instead of the cloth they likewise substituted mats, extremely well wrought, in form resembling those of Taheitee, and sometimes, though rarely, covered 175 even their shoulders and breasts with them. The men frequently wore 301 a string round their necks, from which a mother of pearl shell hung 237 down on the breast. The women often had loose necklaces, consisting of several strings of small shells, intermixed with seeds, teeth of fishes, and in the middle of all the round operculum or cover of [304] a shell, as large as a crown-piece. Both their ears were perforated, and sometimes with two holes, and a little cylinder cut out [435] of 175 tortoise-shell or bone, was stuck through both the holes. Sometimes 301 these cylinders were only of reed, filled with a red solid substance, 531 painted and lacquered with different colours in regular compartments. 175 The most singular circumstance which we observed among these people was, 304 that many of them wanted the little finger on one and sometimes on both 291

[436 cont.]

175 439 237 227 171 tortoise-shell, but in shape exactly resembling the Taheitee fish-hooks, called witte-witte (11); some of which were near seven inches

11. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p.218. Also Parkinson's Journal, p. 77, and Tab. XIII. fig 25.

175 439 301 [237] [824] [531] long. They likewise bought their shells, which hung on the breast, their necklaces, bracelets of mother of pearl, and cylindrical sticks for the ear. They had the neatest ornamental combs that can be imagined, consisting of a number of little flat sticks about five inches long, of a yellow wood like box, most firmly and elegantly connected together at the bottom by a tissue of the fibres of coco-nut, some of which were of their natural colour, and others dyed black.

175 285 531 These fibres were likewise employed [437] in making a great variety of baskets, wrought with regular compartments of two colours, brown and black, or sometimes all brown, and ornamented with rows of round flat beads, which were made by cutting pieces of shells into that shape. The taste and the workmanship of these baskets were elegant in the highest degree, and varied into different forms and

175 171 515 415 824 patterns. Those little stools, which serve as pillows for the head, were much more frequent here than at Taheitee; flattish bowls, in which they place their meat, and spatulas with which they mix up the bread-fruit paste, were likewise in great abundance, and made of the club-wood (casuarina equistifeolia), which had this name from supplying all the islanders in the South Sea with

175 411 weapons. The clubs of the people of this isle, were of an infinite variety of shapes, and many of them so ponderous that we could scarce manage them with one hand; the most common form was quadrangular, so as to make a rhomboid at the broad end, and gradually tapering into a round handle at the other. But many were spatulated, flattish,

[437 cont.]

175 and pointed; some had long handles and a blade which resembled the
411 blade of a fleam; others were crooked, knobbed, &c. But by far
175 the greatest part were carved all over in many chequered patterns,
411
53 which seemed to have required a long space of time, and incredible
[412] patience, especially when we consider, that a sharp stone, or a piece of coral, are the only tools which the natives [438] can employ in this kind of work. All the different compartments were wrought and divided with a regularity which quite surprised us, and the whole surface of the plain clubs was as highly polished, as if our best workmen had made them with the best instruments.

175 Besides clubs, they had spears of the same wood, which were sometimes
411 plain, sharp-pointed sticks, and sometimes barbed with a sting-ray's
[237] tail. They had likewise bows and arrows, of a peculiar construction. The bow which was six feet long, was about the thickness of a little finger, and when slack, formed a slight curve. Its convex part was channelled with a single deep groove, in which the bow string was lodged, and which was likewise big enough sometimes to contain the arrow made of reed, near six feet long, and pointed with hard wood. When the bow was to be bent, instead of drawing it so as to increase the natural curvature, they drew it the contrary way, made it perfectly strait, and then formed the curve on the other side. The bow-string by this means never needed to be tense, as the arrow received sufficient moment by changing the natural bent of the bow; the recoil of which was never violent enough to hurt the arm. Our seamen, unacquainted with the nature of these weapons, broke several

175 of them by drawing them like other bows. The immense quantity of
181 arms belonging to the natives, corresponded very ill with the pacific
609
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[453 cont.]

175 133 that if we suppose a gradual diminution of the sea, at the rate which they pretend to have observed in Sweden (14), the emersion of

14. See the Memoirs of the Swedish Academy of Sciences at Stockholm.

this island must be of so modern date, that it is matter of astonishment how it came to be covered with soil, herbage, and forests; so well stocked with inhabitants, and so regularly adorned as we really 175 126 found it. We picked up a quantity of shells at the foot of the steep rock, where we sometimes waded in water to the knees upon a reef, on 175 account of the flood tide which was advancing. We likewise met with 439 several natives returning from the trading-place, who sold us a [286] number of fish-hooks and ornaments, a fish-net made like our casting-nets, knit of very firm though slender threads, some [454] mats and [292] pieces of cloth. We likewise purchased of them an apron, consisting [531] of many wheels or stars of plaited coco-nut fibres, about three or [286] four inches in diameter, cohering together by the projecting points, and ornamented with small red feathers and beads cut out of shells. 175 Finding that the water encreased too fast upon us, we looked out 123 for an ascent to the top of the rock, and having with some difficulty 241 found one, we re-entered the plantations, where we observed the weeds 175 rooted out with great care and laid in heaps to dry. After a long 123 walk, during which we missed our way, and engaged one of the natives to become our guide, we entered a long narrow lane between two fences, which led us directly to the Fayetooca or burying-place we had left before. Here we found captains Cook and Furneaux, and Mr. Hodges, [565] with a great number of natives, seated on the fine lawn. They were in conversation with an old blear-eyed man, who had a good deal of weight among the rest of the people, and was always accompanied

[455 cont.]
We likewise
found a new musical instrument, consisting of eight, nine, or ten slender reeds, about nine inches long, joined to each other by some fibres of coco-nut core. The length of its reeds [456] seldom varied much, and the long and short ones were placed promiscuously; a notch was formed at the top of each, and the method of playing was only to slide the instrument backwards and forwards along the lips. It had commonly not above four or five different notes, and we never met with one which included a whole octave. Its resemblance to the syrinx, or Pan's flute of the civilized Greeks, dignified it much more than any music which it contained. From the method of playing it, the lovers of music will easily conceive that this divine art is entirely in its infancy among the inhabitants. The vocal part, which is the same as we had already observed it at Ea-oowhe, is very far from being unharmonious, and the women beat time to it by snapping their fingers very exactly; but its whole extent is only of four notes, and therefore cannot admit of any variety. They had likewise a flute of a bamboo-reed, nearly of the thickness of a German flute, which they played with the nostrils, like the Taheitians. They commonly had ornamented it with various little figures, burnt in, and pierced four or five holes in it, whereas the Taheitian flute had but three in all. The method of ornamenting wood by burning figures into it, was frequently observed in their bowls and various other utensils.

It was near sun-set when we returned on board with our collection, and found the vessels still surrounded by many canoes, and the natives swimming about extremely [457] vociferous. Among them were a considerable number of women, who wantoned in the water like amphibious creatures,

[185 cont.]

501 tranverse platform of planks, in the midst of which they had erected
175 a hut, where they placed their goods, their arms, and utensils, and where they passed great part of their time. There were likewise holes, which gave admittance into the body of each canoe. Their masts were stout poles which could be struck at pleasure, and their sails were very large and triangular, but not very proper to sail by the wind.
[289] All their cordage was excellent, and they had also contrived a very good ground tackle, consisting of a strong rope with large stones at the end, by means of which they came to an anchor.

122 We went on shore again after dinner, as captain Cook proposed
126 leaving this island the next day. We passed through several fields and wild shrubberies, and collected a number of valuable plants.
[439] We also made a purchase of several arms, such as clubs, and spears, and of some utensils, viz. small stools, large wooden dishes and bowls, in which the people prepare their victuals, and some earthern pots
719 which seemed to have been long in use. The great abundance of their
175 arms, does not agree with their good-nature and hospitable disposition,
[181] unless they quarrel with their next neighbours, like the people of
[531] Taheitee and the Society Islands. But they seemed to have spent too much time [186] in ornamenting their clubs, to have frequent occasion to use them.

122 At day break the next morning [June 29] we unmoored and set sail, standing towards the island of Tofooa, on which we had again observed
439 the volcano burning during night. A whole fleet of canoes followed us
175 several miles, trading with a variety of articles, particularly their dresses, utensils, and ornaments. Some of them likewise brought fish of different sorts, which we had found very well tasted.

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169). And, as mentioned above, ragged mats were worn for mourning ceremonies. However, Cook does not list the function of mats as ceremonial gifts, which is understandable because he did not attend complete funeral or wedding ceremonies —the main occasions of ceremonial giving.

Forster's *Catalogue of curiosities* lists eight plaited items, seven of which are called mats and one an apron, and George Forster mentions 'their elegant mats, which for workmanship and variety excelled even those of Taheitee' (1777: I, 439).

Number 53 in the Forster collection is listed as 'a strong matt, with a black pattern' (plate 2*a*). It is made of light-coloured pandanus (127 cm. × 207 cm.) decorated with a diagonal pattern of black pandanus, and appears to be unfinished if spread out. This item may be a *ta'ovala la*. According to Tongan tradition certain *matāpule* (ceremonial attendants), whose function it was to supervise ceremonies such as installations of title holders and funerals of chiefs, wore a waist mat decorated with black pandanus that came to a point in the back. If this mat were folded diagonally and then wrapped, the design would be on the outside, a triangle would hang to the back, and the part that was folded inside need not be decorated. The only other example of a *ta'ovala la* so far located is in the Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow, and it is plaited so that one side comes to a triangular point and need not be folded.

Item Number 56, listed as a mat 'pierced with holes' (plate 2*b*), is probably one of the items George Forster described in his journal as aprons, 'curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of fretwork' (1777: I, 474). This type of garment is a *kie fau* or *teunga fau* and is made of the inner bark of the hibiscus tree (*fau*) that has been partially rotted in sea water. The texture is fine and delicate, and the manufacture is a difficult enterprise in contrast to the plaiting of sturdy pandanus mats. *Kie fau* were worn as waist mats only by chiefs—*kie fau* indicating chiefly rank, just as wearing the *ta'ovala la* indicated that one was a certain kind of *matāpule*.

There are three different types of *kie fau*. The type represented by the Pitt Rivers example (160 cm. × 86 cm.) is plaited with square holes and has a fringe of tabs sewn on with twisted '*olongā* (*Pipturus argenteus*) fibre. A second type with much more openwork is found in Museum collections in Cambridge, Dublin, Bern, and Newcastle—all of which have Cook collections—but it is not always known that these particular specimens are from Cook's voyages. The third kind of *kie fau* has small plaited tabs that form an upper layer plaited out from a solid bottom layer. This type is in the Cook collections in Vienna and Stockholm, and there is one in Madrid that was collected by the Spaniard Malaspina in Vava'u in 1792. The manufacture of these types of *kie fau* was probably discontinued in the early nineteenth century. Today *fau* fibre is crocheted into openwork patterns for similar, but more easily made, decorative pieces that can be worn by anyone. The openwork technique is still known, but the more easily worked pandanus is used instead of *fau*. The functional replacement of the *kie fau*, i.e., the chief's waist mat, is now a soft, fine pandanus mat decorated with red feathers and imported from Samoa. This suggests that when the Tongan high ranking *kie fau* ceased to be made there was nothing of local manufacture that was of high enough status to replace it, and a foreign product was brought in.

But the most precious of all the plaited items to the Tongans, and to Cook's men as well, were the so-called 'aprons of cocoanut fibre'. Cook described them in his

[See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

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second voyage Journal. 'They have ... a curious apron, made of the out side fibres of the Cocoanut shell and composed of a number of small pieces sewed together in such a manner as to form stars, half Moons, little squars, etc., and studed with beads of shells and covered with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1961: 272). The Pitt Rivers example (plate 2c, 66 cm. × 66 cm.) is made of star-shaped elements, each having a central section and 10 or 11 points. This item was described by George Forster: 'we likewise purchased of them an apron, consisting of many wheels or stars of plaited coco-nut fibres, about three or four inches in diameter, cohering together by the projecting points, and ornamented with small red feathers and beads cut out of shells' (1777: I, 454). One element is decorated with a pig tooth and the thirty-five elements are attached to a waistband that is unravelled at one end. An examination of Forster's account tells us why.

> We accidentally procured a quantity of these feathers at Amsterdam, one of the Friendly Isles, where they fastened them on pieces of their stuffs. These being carried to O-Taheitee, and shared out in little pieces, procured us a great number of hogs; for a bit of two inches square, covered with feathers, would at any time, be eagerly purchased with a hog (1778: 207); when we came the second time in 1774, to O-Taheitee after we had been to Tonga Tabu, where the natives make various ornaments of red feathers, we procured for them not only numbers of hogs, the most valuable article of trade, but likewise mourning dresses, which the natives refused to part with before, when Mr Banks was there, and during our first stay in their happy isle. The rage after these trifling ornaments was so great, that Potatoa a chief, whose magnanimity and noble way of thinking, we never questioned before, wanted even to prostitute his own wife, for a parcel of these baubles (1778: 367).

These aprons are known in Tongan traditions as *sisi fale*, and were worn only by high chiefs. Parts of at least twenty specimens of *sisi fale* have so far been recorded in museum collections. The usual elements are stars, rectangles, lozenges, crescents, and ovals—the elements and their combinations being quite distinctive. An interesting example of secondary use of a Tongan *sisi fale* by Tahitians is that two elements were used to decorate one of their human images which is now in the British Museum (TAH. 63). These two elements—now mostly denuded of their red feathers—are used for a head covering and a loincloth. It is possible that the element that forms the loincloth of the image is part of the *sisi fale* now in the Pitt Rivers Museum and perhaps traded to the Tahitians by Forster. Unfortunately, the British Museum specimen does not have any accession or collection information. It is interesting to speculate that perhaps Cook collected it himself on his third voyage. The half of the *sisi fale* in the Pitt Rivers Museum is probably what was left after Forster shared out two inch squares to the Tahitians, perhaps for the very Tahitian mourning dress in the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Two parts of another *sisi fale* from Cook's voyages exist in Vienna and Florence. Both of these seem to have come from the sale of the Leverian Museum in London in 1806, and probably originally came from Cook's third voyage. Another *sisi fale* that can quite confidently be identified is in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Unfortunately, again there is no collection or accession information, but I suspect that it is the one depicted in Labillardière (1802: 32), and thus collected on d'Entrecasteaux's voyage in 1793. Only the Pitt Rivers *sisi fale*, however, can be traced to Cook's second voyage—probably for several reasons: the chiefs interacted with during the second voyage were not the highest ones; Cook was not present during

A [See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

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occasions in which *sisi fale* were used; and those *sisi fale* that were obtained were traded to the Tahitians for hogs, and mourning dresses and other curiosities. We must be ever grateful to Forster for saving at least half of his. There is also part of a *sisi fale* in Göttingen, but according to the curator, this does not come from the Forster part of the collection.

Cook explains the function of the *sisi fale* in his third voyage account. 'In their great Haivas, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1967: 168). No *sisi fale* exist today in Tonga, but according to tradition they were worn by high chiefs for ceremonial dress or dancing. A specimen in one collection is noted 'Kafolalanga worn by the Tamaha and the Tu'i Tonga on feast days.' The word is probably *kofulalanga*, which simply means woven dress. One of the examples in Florence is connected with the Tamaha in yet another way. The individual elements that make up the *sisi fale* are a design used by the Tamaha. The design, a circle with an abstract tree, is said to represent an '*akau ha'ano*, carrying pole of a special kind of wood, used by the Ha'a Ngata to bring gifts to the Tamaha.

Also of feathers, and the most spectacular of all objects of indigenous Tongan manufacture, were feather headdresses. These highest of visual symbols could be worn only by the highest of chiefs—and perhaps only by the Tu'i Tonga himself. During Cook's third voyage sojourn in Tonga, Finau left Cook on May 23 ostensibly to go to Vava'u 'to get some red feathered caps for me [Cook] and Omai to carry to Otaheite where they are in high esteem' (Beaglehole 1967: 112). Finau seems not to have succeeded for he fabricates a story that the canoe was lost in high wind. Anderson offers us an explanation: 'The truth probably was that he found himself unable to procure the things at Va'vaoo which he expected, or if he did get any and heard at Hapaee which lay in his way back that Poulaho had been with us he might leave them there, as he doubtless knew the merit of procuring them would have fallen to the share of his superior though he had been at the trouble' (Beaglehole 1967: 886).

Only Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, presents the treasure.

> [he] came on board betimes and brought me one of their Caps made or at least covered with red feathers: these Caps were much sought after by us from knowing that they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But though very large prices were offered not one was ever brought for sale, which shewed they were no less valuable to the people here, nor was there a person in either Ship that got one but myself Capt. Clerke and Omai. These Caps or rather bonnets are made of the tail feathers of the Tropic bird with the red feathers of the Paroquets worked upon them or in along with them, they are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any Crown, and have the form of a Simicircle whose radius is 18 or 20 Inches; But a painting which Mr. Webber has made of Fattafee Polaho dressed in one of these bonnets will convey the best idea of them (Beaglehole 1967: 117).

Two of these rare items were given to the Tahitians—but little did Cook know that these feather headdresses were among the rarest of all Polynesian artefacts. Cook wanted to procure hogs and perhaps Tahitian mourning dresses—but these latter exist in relatively large numbers in museum collections. Mourning dresses were worn by a number of chiefs but probably only the Tu'i Tonga had feather headdresses. Since two were given away by Cook, there was still a chance that one

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and a companion in the same museum are the only examples of fly whisks made in this manner. The handles are completely incised in zigzag patterns and inset with ivory pieces in the form of men, birds, stars, and crescents (Moschner 1955: 222, 224). The carving and ivory inlay are done in the same manner as the incising of Tongan clubs, but handles of Tongan fly whisks are usually uncarved. Since fly whisks are only used by chiefs in Tonga, one would suspect that such an elaborate one would have been the possession of a special chief. The existence of the information in the Leverian sale catalogue—that it belonged to Paulaho—was the corroborating evidence we needed.

A specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum illustrates the usual early type of fly whisk (plate 4*a*).[A] It is made with a slightly tapered, polished wood handle and a whisk of coconut fibre, bound by a wrapping of twisted *'olonga* fibre. It is 53 cm. in length and a small section of the whisk is braided. An almost identical piece exists in the Forster collection in Göttingen, and there are two similar ones in the British Museum. The Pitt Rivers example is a good type specimen. It is the usual Tongan type in early collections, its provenance is given as Tonga in Forster's list, such whisks still exist in Tonga, and an engraving in Labillardière (1802: plate 33) is virtually identical. Another whisk of this type, but with a bone handle, exists in Bern in the Webber collection from the third voyage, but its provenance is given as Tahiti. It is certainly Tongan, and can now be separated from the Tahitian materials.

The fly whisk, *fue kafa*, was an important symbol of rank in Tonga. It was manipulated in a specific manner, called *fuefue*, which took practice and deftness of hand. A Tongan proverb puts it nicely: 'Who is this fellow who wields his *fue* like a commoner?' This proverb is used today for anyone who is presumptuous beyond his status. The *fue* is a good example of the reflection of social stratification in material culture. The Tu'i Tonga was chief of the chiefs. The *fue*, a visual status symbol that could be used by all chiefs, was differentiated when used by the Tu'i Tonga in a manner befitting his high rank.

Incising of the designs in wood was done by means of a shark-tooth implement represented in the Pitt Rivers Museum by Forster specimen Number 174, 'shark's tooth set in wood, from the Friendly Isles' (plate 4*b*[A](i)). Before Forster's Catalogue was found in 1969, this specimen was noted '?Tahiti.' This provenance may have been derived from comparing it with a similar specimen in the British Museum that is in the TAH series, but one must remember that the TAH series reflects the views of a nineteenth century cataloguer and that, for the most part, the Tongan items were not separated from the Tahitian. Also in reference to this erroneous British Museum provenance, Duff in his recent catalogue ascribed a similar tool in the Canterbury Museum, New Zealand, to Tahiti (Duff 1969: 26). But I think there can be little doubt that this tool type is Tongan.

We are indebted on this account to Forster for two reasons. Not only does he state clearly that this tool is from Tonga but he also gave its companion tool (plate 4*b* (ii)), a nail set in a handle of bone. This specimen (Forster 101a) he lists as 'An old nail, brought to the friendly Isles by Tasman in 1643 and preserved by the Natives, & used as a gouge or borer'. Thus, though one might question his attribution of the shark-tooth tool to Tonga, one could hardly question the nail attribution. And this is crucial, for the hafting is virtually identical. Reinold Forster describes this piece, or a similar one, in his *Observations:* '. . . when we landed at Tonga-tabu

A. [See End Plate 4, following p. 220--Analyst]
4

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175
304 PLATE 1a. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W.
182 Hodges.
292 PLATE 1b. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.
764 PLATE 1c. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Sālote Tupou III, December 1965.
765 PLATE 2a. *Ta'ovala la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.
285 PLATE 2b. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.
531 PLATE 2c. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.
127 PLATE 3a. *Palā tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (4672).
293 PLATE 3b. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massa-
714 chusetts (E33465).
301 PLATE 4a. *Fue kafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.
535 PLATE 4b. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in
534 handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.
000 PLATE 5a. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 62.
PLATE 5b. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum,
Foster 98.
PLATE 6a. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hapaee'. Engraving after Webber.
PLATE 6b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.
PLATE 7a. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.
PLATE 7b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.
PLATE 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]

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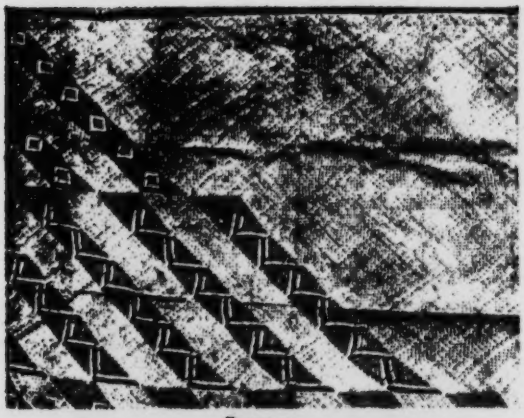

PLATE 2a.

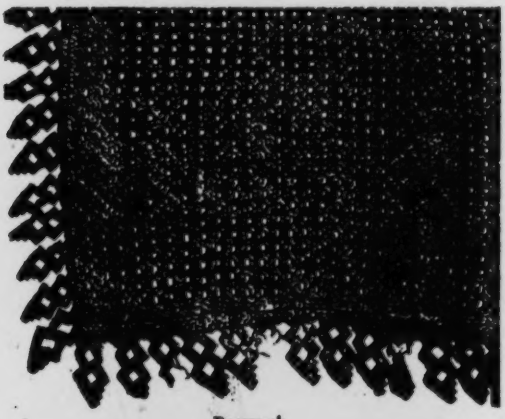

PLATE 2b.

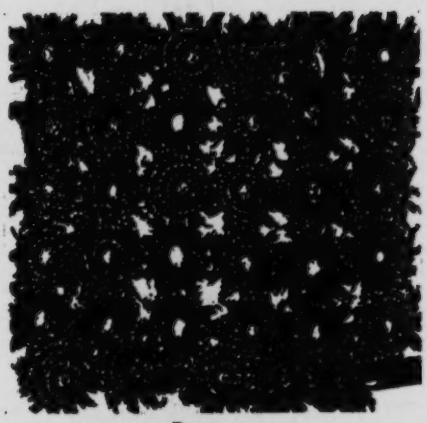

PLATE 2c.

[End plate 2]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

/60 cont./

304 were tattooed. (167)

167. Cf. G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 326; J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 279/280; W. Waldegrave, Extracts.../cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 194

304 Tattooing, which consisted of elaborate figures and patterns, each of
531 which had a special name, covered the abdomen and thighs, that is, all parts of the body from the hips to the knees, (168)

168. Mariner says: "...from within two inches of the knees up to about three inches above the umbilicus" /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 266).

including the penis. Women were little tattooed, for the most part only on the inside of the hands (fingers and palms), on the arms and sometimes on the legs, (169)

169. First observed by Waldegrave (see above).

304 with dotlike and star-shaped patterns. Among the Tongans it was
554 generally considered unmanly not to be tattooed. Non-tattooed men
626 would have been ridiculed by other men and more especially by women.
463 Usually special experts carried out the process when the person
413 reached adulthood. They used comblike instruments (made from the
239 wing bones of wild ducks), dipped these in a mixture of soot (from
386 Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.) and water, and, with a small stick and in a rather time-consuming procedure, hammered the pattern into the skin. (170)

170. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 256/266.

304 This ancient tattooing, which was perhaps a fashion taken over
171 from Samoa--although practiced for centuries--, has today almost
178 entirely disappeared. In various villages of the Archipelago a few old men are still living who have this kind of tattoos, but they are Samoans or Tongans who some time ago submitted to the process in Samoa where this art is practiced to a certain extent even today.

/87 cont./

764 is brought to the graveyard. (250)
794

250. For this purpose the Catholic congregation in Fungamisi, for example, uses a European wooden bier which is covered with Tongan mats.

If the deceased was a Wesleyan, the pastor who, at sunrise, prayed with the relatives in the house, awaits the funeral cortege at the graveyard situated at the end of the village, where some ten relatives (or villagers) have already prepared the grave for the deceased. The [554] grave site is always selected by the family eldest (ulu i he famili). 764 For a burial, the Tongans frequently open a grave that is about three or six years old, or one that has been used for a very long time, in which, for example, ten skulls of former burials may be lying.

The present Tongan graves may, in general, be divided into three types. The first type, the older and probably the most common one on most of the islands of the Archipelago, consists of a four-sided lining of the pit with coral limestone slabs cut on the beach, and a covering slab of the same material. The second, undoubtedly more [177] modern type, has the stone slabs replaced by European cement (that is, the cement-sand mixture used in building), whereas the third type is merely a simple, unlined pit. These graves do not have a base slab, since the natives wish to avoid an accumulation of rainwater in the pit. However, they try if possible to place a slab (of stone, wood or corrugated iron) on the grave in which the corpse rests, usually without a coffin. (251)

[177]

251. Though European-style coffins are familiar to the natives, they are seldom made.

764 Over these graves are piled small mounds (square in shape with slant-
● 531 ing sides or shaped like stepped pyramids) or whitish-yellow or whitish-gray (usually coarse) sand from sections of the beach, and these are often decorated with geometric patterns of black pebbles (from the beach or reef). A fresh grave is also decorated with

/87 cont./

764 kie-kie lou fau (252)
531

252. Compare p. 323-324.

or sisi kakala, (253)

253. Compare p. 82-84.

[177] mounted between sticks. Some graves are also decorated with borders of shells or beer /88/ bottles, and in the vicinity of European settlements or at the suggestion of a white pastor, the Tongans have begun using crosses and other European-type grave structures of cement (less often cast iron). The graves of Protestants, Catholics and members of the rest of the faiths in Tonga are the same, except that they have separate graveyards. The graves of chiefs usually differ from the resting places of commoners in size and more elaborate decoration. The graves of the royal family are situated in Nuku'alofa; they are made of concrete and in shape are reminiscent of the large langi, (254)

764 [794] [184] [565]

254. Compare W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 30ff.

the famous grave structures of the old Tu'i Tonga.

764 178 The village graveyards with their more of less disintegrated, largely unornamented mounds of light sand are a development of recent times. In olden times, when most of the people lived scattered on the various islands, commoners buried their dead on their plantations. (255)

764

255. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 201.

[533] [179] After arriving at the grave the mourners sing a hymn, the pastor reads from the Bible (for example, Psalm 90), and the deceased is lowered into the pit which is spread with tapa (over the old skulls) of a mat (for example, fala paongo),. Then follows the sermon which includes the life history of the deceased. More hymns are sung. Over the corpse, which is usually covered with an additional mat (fala paongo), the grave is closed with a slab. The "eldest" turns

[533]

765 /89 cont./
784
178

257. Only the beating of tapa is generally not resumed for a few days or weeks.

[554] For a high-ranking deceased, however, a longer noise ban (of ten days or more) is still observed.

765 On the morning after the funeral the women (that is, the female
[531] relatives of the deceased and possibly neighbors) fetch basketsful of sand from the beach and make a grave mound which they soon decorate with black pebbles (if available), small red and white coral stones and ki-kie lou fau (and sisi kakala) (see above). On this day, people also
765 frequently observe the old "pongi-pongi" which formerly went on for ten
584 days: (258)
216

258. According to statements of aged Tongan. notables (chiefs, matapule) of the village and other people come, kava is drunk in ceremonial order, and the relatives of the deceased distribute the contents of an earth oven which they have prepared.

765 After the funeral, the wife of the deceased, her daughters and sons (also accompanied by a few relatives) go every day to the grave to weed and keep the mound in order. Often a few villagers will gather for several days with the relatives for a kava circle, and the close relatives of the deceased continue wearing, every day (sometimes also at night) for some three months (or a year), the torn mat (tauanga'a, liongi, motumotu) which they put on for the burial ceremonies, (fastened with bast or a European cord), as a visible sign of mourning.
[177] The European custom of a black arm band has found limited acceptance.

After a few years the majority of the people scarcely pay any attention to the graves; this attitude is reminiscent of that of commoners in times past. (259)

259. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 201.

[178] This burial procedure is usually the rule. However, there are
[565] certain deviations, since it is left to the relatives, at any rate
[574]
[784]

513
285
[352] /145 cont./
(824)

about 1.10 x 1.30 meters to about 1.70 x 2.60 meters. For their construction see pp. 305 ff.

However, people often sleep on a single mat. There are no specific data on /146/ the sleep mats used in ancient Tonga. It is to be [565] assumed that commoners slept on simpler mats than did the nobles. [178] Very probably the mats are in general plaited more crudely now than [531] in the old days (380)

380. For example, there are no longer any sleep mats of the quality of the old Tongan mat No. Oz. /oceania?/ 141 (Cook Collection) in the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Gottingen.

and the lo taha and fala tofua, in contrast to the fala paonga which is always in natural color (brown), are decorated not only with the traditional black plaited pattern, (381)

[386] 381. Dyed black with leaf strips buried in the mud of a bog for two or three days and boiled with manaui leaves.

but also with European colored woolen threads knotted on the borders. 513 Some Tongans spread a European white sheet over their sleep mats; but [177] only a few cover themselves with these or with wool blankets. The majority still use (especially on cooler nights) the traditional bast-fabric sleep covers. (382)

382. Perhaps these are today used more by commoners than in the past.

513 The ancient headrests, however, are gradually falling into disuse. One 352 still finds them used by a few older men and women. Some own the 178 typical Tongan headrests (hahapo) made from one piece, very few have the four-footed headrests (kali), the legs of which are fastened to the headrest in pairs with coconut-fiber cords; more commonly used than these beautiful old types (383)

513 /146 cont./

352 383. These are no longer made in Tonga and
178 are mostly several decades old.

are the "headrests" (tekihi) made of a simple, angular or rounded oblong block of wood, or the kali papa nailed together out of scraps
513 of imported building timber. However, the majority of Tonga today
178 sleep without headrests; they sleep on the level ground or put their
177 heads on a cloth bundle or on a European pillow that they have made
352 themselves and filled with kapok. In some 30 to 50 percent (384)
177 384. Depending on the location of the settlement
(village near a seaport or remote island).

of Tongan houses there are European-type bedsteads (wooden or iron
[283] bedstead or camp bed). Some of the wooden bedsteads were self-made by the natives; on a lacing of coconut-fiber cords (kafa) lies a pile of mats serving as mattress. The beds found in Tongan houses are,
[513] however, only partly used for sleeping (with European linen or a bast-fabric sheet over the mat pile and with a pillow); more as a useful object for storing some of the delicate mats. In some houses today one
751 sees mosquito netting.

285 Baskets are plaited in large quantities in Tonga. (385)

385. See p. 313 ff.

However, today they serve more for carrying than for storing things in
[531] the house. The wealth of baskets has diminished insofar as the /147/
[237] artistic coconut-fiber baskets, for example, (386)
[178]

386. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 108; J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc cit. VI. p. 283; also No. Oz. 139 (Cook Collection) in the Institute for Ethnology, Gottingen.

partly decorated with small shell disks, have not been made for a long
285 time. The baskets made today in Tonga consist mostly of pandanus-leaf
531 strips (of several species) in various forms (some using coconut-leaf ribs) (387)

531 /147 cont./
285

387. Except for the small coconut-leaf baskets generally used but once.

and ornamented with the natural-colored brown and traditionally black-dyed (388)

[386]

388. By burying in mud for two or three days and boiling with manaui leaves.

pandanus-leaf strips; (389)

389. For their construction see p. 313 ff.

some plaited bags are also decorated with pandanus-leaf strips dyed with bright-colored European dyes. Undoubtedly the baskets now being plaited in Tonga are an ancient cultural heritage. (390)

285
178

390. In principle they resemble, for example, the ancient Tongan basket No. Oz. 121 in the Ethnological Institute, Gottingen.

However, they are probably more crudely worked than in the past.--
415 The essential containers for storing clothing and smaller things used in the household, the tools, etc., are today simply old corned-beef cases, specially made wooden boxes and metal-trimmed chests. In
[177] addition, a few households have European cardboard suitcases in more or less good condition. Closets are scarcely to be seen in Tongan houses,
353 except for small food cupboards (with screening) for storing dishes and smaller supplies, with which over half of all households are pro-
352 vided. Wooden shelves today likewise serve to accomodate various little
177 things, as do tables. The latter have been introduced in many houses, though they have lost their European function, since they are used mostly as places to put lamps, bottles, mirrors etc. Very few households have European /straight/ chairs, benches, club chairs etc., and even in the houses that have tables and chairs, people generally sit on the floor beside them and also take their meals there--as in old times. However,
[556] the owner is very proud of such European furniture; for him it is the
[574] symbol of respected Europeanism and at the same time proof of his

/205 cont./

285 [412] they cut them into strips from which they then plait the papa.

3. Sleeping Mats

lo taha:

[513] The lo taha is the most ordinary sleeping mat and often serves as the bottom mat of a complete bed for girls, women and men. It is also /206/ placed over the papa as a seat mat. On journeys (by boat) it is usually the only sleeping pad. Its size fluctuates around 1.80 x 1.10 meters.

[824] The lo taha is generally made of the pandanus species lou tofua. From the cut leaves the natives remove the thorny edges and part of the midrib with a knife; then they roll the leaves into rather large bundles (of about 40 leaves each) until the leaves change color. Thereupon the leaves are dried in the sun (about four to six days). Then they divide them along the midrib into two halves and store these rolled up (as many as 100 halves per roll) or separately. [412] Before plaiting them they draw a mussel shell or the bowl of a spoon over the leaf halves thus prepared, make them soft and pliable and cut them into narrow strips with a sharp shell splinter, a small piece of tin or a knife. The lo taha are often ornamented with [386] interwoven uniform black strips which have been suitably dyed by [824] being buried in the mud of a bog (for about three days) and boiled [531] with manaui leaves (and kokoa leaves, or also tavahi leaves). For a [531] few decades these mats have also been ornamented along the edges with [177] knotted, colored European wool threads.

fala tutu'ila:

The fala tutu'ila is also a sleeping mat and similar to the lo taha in kind and use.

It is made of leaf strips of the lou tutu'ila pandanus species which is not boiled, but simply dried in the air, like the lou paongo

/206 cont./

285 species (see papa)

fala paongo:

[513] This the natives prefer to use as the inner mat layer of a complete bed. It is also used separately as a sleeping mat, and [352] when it gets old it is often used as a floor mat. The fala tofua [431] is further used in gift-giving, and in burial, to lay the corpse to [764] rest. It varies in size with an average measurement of about 1.90 x 1.20 meters.

[824] The mat is plaited of the leaf strips of the lou paongo species; these are prepared as for the papa (see above), but are cut much [531] narrower. The fala paongo are not specially ornamented.

fala tofua:

[513] This is the most important sleeping mat and is used by men, women and children. As part of a complete bed it serves as the uppermost [431] layer of mats. It a favored wedding gift, and at a burial the corpse [585] is laid to rest on it. [764]

Like the lo taha (see above) the mat is plaited of leaf strips [824] of the lou tofua species; however, the strips of the former are used double, whereas for the latter they are worked in singly. Leaf strips of the lou paongo species (see papa) are used as the favored ornamentation.

4. Belt Mats

285 291

ta'o-vala tofua:

This belt mat--like all the others--differs from the sleeping mats in that the plaiting is considerably finer and smaller in size. [554] /207/ It is the most commonly used of these symbols of respect and rank, (534)

534. See p. 69-71.

[824] and is worn especially by men, but also by women. The ta'o-vala

/207 cont./

285 [824] a few days (about seven), desalt them in fresh water, dry them for three or four days in the sun and roll them up again. Before plaiting them the natives stretch these upper skins of the leaves, make them pliable and divide them into narrow strips.

Sometimes the natives smoke-dry this belt mat to make it somewhat darker (that is, yellowish brown). Nowadays, they also sometimes interweave it with lou kie strips that have been dyed with multicolored, artificial European dyes. [531] [177] [386]

ta'o-vala kie-kie:

The ta'o-vala kie-kie is very probably a "new discovery" that is no more than two decades old. This is not so much a mat as a plaited belt with pendant strips that are plaited in the same way. Men and women wear it like the ta'o-vala tofua. [291]

They plait the ta'o-vala kie-kie out of leaf strips of the lou tofua variety of pandanus (see above under lo taha) and ornament it with interwoven black-dyed (see above under lo taha) leaf strips of the same species. [824] [531]

/208/ 5. Display Mats

fala fihu:

285 565 The fala fihu is a valuable mat which is generally not used by commoners, but is stored away and dept for a special purpose. It is given by a relative or close friend on the occasion of a wedding; a girl will give it to the man she loves, and a young man will also ask his sister for a fala fihu to give to a male of female friend as a special token of affection. At her wedding, a very well-to-do bride is wrapped in such a mat (but usually of a larger variety known as "fihu"), and at a burial the corpse is sometimes covered with it. The daughter of a high-ranking man also sleeps on such a mat. [431] [585] [585] [292] [764] [513]

285 824 The fala fihu is made from the pandanus species lou kie (see above under ta'o -vala kie).

/209 cont./

285 178 ornamental mats were formerly plaited. (544)

544. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 283.

New creations, however, are the "seat mat for one person" (see above) and the belt mat ta'o-vala kie-kie (see above). The Tongan mats of today seem largely cruder as compared with the past. (545)

545. For example, throughout the Archipelago there are no mats that compare in quality with Numbers. Oz. 141, 144 and 148 in the Gottingen Institute of Ethnology (Cook-Forster Collection, Cook's second South Sea expedition).

285 178 177 [631] Furthermore, we must mention the influx of European ornamental materials; the natives like to use the artificial dyes and wool threads for some types of mats because of their novel color effects. Today, they also often simplify the work of securing the edge of the mats by giving it a sewing-machine seam; in preparing the material, they now boil various leaf species instead of baking them in the earth-oven which was apparently done in former times.

285 565 178 And still another change is to be noted: As a result of Tonga's gradual democratization, some mats that were meant to be used only by persons of higher rank lost their status and have fallen into common use by people, (546)

546. See for example, ta'o-vala kie, kie Tonga.

who, in any case, probably have a greater wealth of mats of all types today than they had in the past.

285 178 On the other hand, however, it also seems important to note that in this area the past has been preserved to a great extent: Today in Tonga there is still no dwelling without mats. The natives cling to many different kinds of mats and still use the individual types /210/ for their traditional purposes; for example, the takapau has

/211 cont./

285 for safe-keeping, utensils of all kinds. The natives place in it
482 tobacco, cigarette papers, small knives, oil bottles, combs, mirrors and diapers (=kato tanaki'anga me'a) and, in the larger ones (kata vala) articles of clothing; they also use it to shop at the storekeeper's, and in smaller baskets of this type children carry their schoolbooks, adults their bibles and hymn books. The kato lou 'akau is used
[462] almost exclusively by women (and girls), and the women (and girls) are also the only ones who plait it.

285 This basket, which has a rectangular bottom and two loop handles,
[824] is made of strips of pandanus leaves. It has an inner section plaited
[531] of wider lou paongo strips, and around this is worked an outer section from a lou tofua strip that is equally wide at the bottom and narrower at the sides; (554)

554. For the method of making various pandanus-leaf strips see under "papa" and "lo taha," pp. 306/307.

these strips are sometimes of natural color, sometimes dyed black (see above) and plaited into "geometric" patterns.

kato tongi:

This is similar to the kato lou 'akau. The use of both baskets
[824] is the same. The kato tongi is plaited of wider strips of lou paongo (and lou tofua) and differs in its long sides which are drawn out to two rather long points.

kato tu'a niu:

[482] The kato tu'a niu is used to transport fruit and food and to keep sewing gear and sewing work and other utensils. Like the kato lou'akau, it is an all-around receptacle used for many purposes.
[462] Women and girls use and make it exclusively.

[824] This round basket with a handle (with or without a cover) is plaited from the midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm

/211 cont./

285 and from narrow pandanus-leaf strips of the lou tofua species (see
(824) above) in a spiral coil technique "Geometric" patterns are worked
(531) in with black dyed (see above) lou tofua strips and natural colored
lou paongo strips

/212/

kato lou kie:

(482) This small pouch with a handle is used to hold money, tobacco, matches, etc. It is carried only by women and girls who like to take it along when they go shopping.

The kato lou kie is plaited by women and girls from pandanus strips (upper skin) of the lou kie species, (555)

555. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309-310.

some of which are dyed with European colors.

kato alu:

(585) The kato alu is a "wedding basket" for a wedding of some importance in ancient Tongan style. (556)

556. See p. 114-116

There are two shapes: a smaller, oval one for the bridegroom and a larger, round one which was originally intended for the bride.

(462) These baskets, which are made only by women, are plaited with
(824) the separated midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm and the split leaf ribs of the creeper alu. They are dyed with a
(386) mixture of the soot of burned Aleurites and the sap of the koka tree (Bischofia javanica [flower]). With thin strings twisted from the
(283) bast of the paper mulberry tree, small rings cut out of shells (or
(239) snail shells [pule] with coconut fiber strings) are fastened to the
(283) outer surface of the basket. The carrying cord is plaited out of
(239) women's hair.

285 From the foregoing list of the most important types of baskets
177 we may conclude that the natives expend considerable time, effort and
178

/212 cont./

285 177 178 care in making these receptacles which are still of rather fundamental importance in their everyday life. A definite change has taken place in this area, however, during the period of European influence: The number of ancient Tongan types has been reduced by the once so artistically plaited coconut fiber baskets (some with ornaments of shell disks) (557)

557. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 283; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 295.

and today we are experiencing the gradual disappearance of the last "wedding baskets" (kato alu, see above). (558)

558. See pp. 114-116.

Even though the Tongan women still make baskets with considerable expenditure of energy and with the use of complicated methods (see foregoing list), nevertheless the results of their efforts often seem crudely and sometimes unevenly worked. The types listed are an ancient Tongan cultural heritage, except for kato lou kie. This small basket with a handle is an imitation of European purses, according to the natives. It [531] [386] is worth mentioning that the other types of baskets have apparently remained basically unchanged, though some of them are used only to hold European articles, and that the natives have conservatively kept the old black and white patterns of their pandanus-leaf baskets (with the original black dyeing of the leaf strips), even though European /213/ dyes are easily obtainable; the latter are, significantly, used only for the new 285 462 creation of the kato lou kie.--As in old times, (559)

559. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 283.

basket-making is typically women's work, and the men, as in former times, (560)

560. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

only plait the crude baskets (see above, kato lou niu).

/213 cont./

285
(293) i fulu fulu 'i moa:

This is the typical "good" fan of females, especially girls; they like to use it in public, in church, at choir practice, etc.

(462) Women and girls plait it of pandanus strips of the lou tofua
(824) variety (as well as lou paongo); (564)
(531) 564. See pp. 306-308.
according to the old style, they work in lou tofua strips dyed black or tinted (for example, crimson) with European dyes. A wooden handle is
(239) plaited in as reinforcement, and the entire edge of the fan is trimmed with white chicken down.

/214/

i lou fau:

(462) The i'lou fau is used mostly by women, but also by men, and is made by the former.

(824) They use the midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm,
(177) leaf strips of the lou tofua (or lou kie) variety of pandanus and
(386) hibiscus bast (fau). The latter is usually colored with European dyes.
(239) A wooden handle is plaited in as reinforcement. Sometimes they also fasten chicken down to the edge of the fan.

285
(177) Without doubt, these are products that are basically of ancient Tongan origin. In the absence of comparative material it is difficult
(439) for us to determine how great the change is in this area. In any case, the frequent use of European dyes, as well as the bits of imported construction timber used to reinforce the handle are recent influences.
(178) Probably the more "elegent" fans (for example, i fulu fulu 'i moa,
(565) i tu'a niu) were reserved for nobles in ancient Tonga, and in general we may assume that the work has perhaps become cruder.

Finally, in a discussion of Tongan plaitwork we must mention sandals and hats.

/214 cont./

Sandals

teka:

285 292 These are an ancient Tongan cultural heritage. Today, as in the past, they are worn on the sharp-edged coral reefs by fishermen (sometimes also by women).

285 462 824 The men (not so much the women) plait these sandals from the bast of Hibiscus tiliaceus. Nowadays, they sometimes also use (for convenience) the less durable leaf strips of pandanus.

Hats

285 177 291 The occasional wearing of hats may be traced back to European influence. Hence the plaiting of such head coverings is also a new type of work in Tonga.

tata lou 'akau:

292 794 These hats are worn by older women when they go to church; they are a sign of membership in the Wesleyan congregation where the wearers have made a special confession. Younger women and girls wear these hats not only for church-going, but also on other festive occasions, and as sunshades on Sunday. In the opinion of one Tongan who is in general well informed, hats have been made in the Archipelago for about 40 years and are an imitation of models taken from the (Europeanized) Niue Island where indeed very similar models are plaited to this day.

292 177

285 462 824 /215/ The tata lou 'akau are made only by women from the leaf strips of the lou tofua pandanus species; (565)

565. See lo taha, pp. 305-308.

531 they plait patterns into them with pandanus leaf strips of the lou kie species, (566)

566. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309.

dyed with European dyes, and put a band of cotton around the hat.

/219 cont./

287 this a second layer of tapa (lauolunga) (consisting of feta'aki), (574)
386
(381)

574. The individual feta'aki are properly trimmed as they are laid in place.

which is pressed on (glued) and rubbed with the color-scrap soaked with koka dye, so that on the now brownish surface the darker brown patterns of the printing panels stand out in contrast. With paint-brushes (fo'i fa) (pandanus fruit) the women draw over the individual patterns. When they have finished painting the length of the tapa (575)

(412)

575. They straighten the edge of it with a knife or with scissors.

on the "drum," they pull it down far enough so that on its longitudinal edge more feta'aki pieces can be glued, layered, dyed and painted, whereupon the process is repeated again and again, so that on one side of the drum a longer and longer length of two-ply, dyed and painted tapa builds up. On both edges, which remain uncolored, the women always paint the number of the segment in arabic numerals; one segment is always two hand-spans wide. A finished tapa length is about 20 to 27 meters long and 3.70 to 4.40 meters wide. For special purposes (for example, as a gift to the sovereign) they make tapas that are more than 100 meters long.

(802)
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The glued and dyed tapa lengths are spread out with the colored side uppermost to dry in the sun. The women also lay them in the grass in front of their dwellings before sunrise, so that the dew (and thereafter the sun) can make the bast cloth "strong and beautiful."

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The final operation is the redrawing of the decorations on the printing panels. This the owner (576)

(422)
(476)

576. The owner of such a long tapa is always the woman who furnished the necessary raw tapa (feta'aki); the kautaha works for each of its members in turn (see pp. 137-140).

/219 cont./

usually does herself with a wooden rod and blackish-brown color (a mixture of koka-color and the soot of burned Aleurites).

The tapa lengths are folded and rolled into balls and kept in the dwelling of the owner who, in the course of time, cuts off pieces as needed.

There are three types of tapa, according to the methods of dyeing:

1. ngatu tahina:

This most important, because universally used, tapa is dyed a solid brown with the exception of the border and certain parts of the decoration. The patterns are brought out with dark brown or blackish-brown lines. They represent, for example, the /220/ adornment of chieftains, striking or historically noteworthy landscape motifs, symbols of the modern Tongan state (star, crown, dove, swords), parts of ancient Tongan chieftains' houses, as well as the new palace of the king and desirable European objects such as the bicycle and gramaphone, and some also have inscriptions (block letters) which explain the meaning of individual decorations (for example, KOE SISI O TAUFAAHAU = this is the ornamental belt (sisi) of the Taufa'ahua; KOE KALAUNI = this is the crown; KOE PASIKALA = this is a bicycle; KALAMIFONI = gramaphone).

The ngatu tahina is used as a bed cover (also bed pad) for men women and children, to partition rooms and as ceiling covers in the house, as wedding clothes, to lay a corpse to rest, as a gift, and as a dance dress; in each case sufficiently large pieces are cut from the roll.

2. ngatu tapa'i ngatu:

Tapa of this kind has patterns outlined in dark brown (blackish-brown) on a surface that has been left more or less white. Their patterns are also symbols of ancient and modern Tonga (for example,

/220 cont./

287
531
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a certain flower ornament

Pattern on a ngato tapa 'i ngatu: a spitfire fighter plane (Expedition Collection, No. 27)

of a chief, parts of ancient Tongan buildings and houses of chiefs, striking landscapes, the queen's fan, the flag of Tonga, a spitfire fighter plane that the Tongans gave England in the second World War, and a nautical mark in the harbor of Neiafu), and some of them are explained by block-letter inscriptions.

287
513
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342
431
292
764
Bast cloth of this kind is used especially as bed covers, to divide up and decorate rooms in the dwelling as well as to cover the ceiling of these, and as gifts; it is also used occasionally as a wedding and a dance dress and to cover a corpse.

3. ngatu 'uli:

287
531
386
This type of tapa is dark brown to blackish-brown (brown koka color and blackish koka and Aleurites soot). It is decorated with print panels (chiefly with the "manulua" pattern, namely, cruciform triangular patterns), or /221/ else patterns are dispensed with and the lines of the coconut fiber cords that were previously wrapped around the "drum" stand out as the pattern on the entire blackish surface.

287
513
431
764
This tapa is used chiefly as bed pad (on the top mat), as a wedding gift and as a cover on which to lay a corpse.

/221 cont./

287 wedding gift and as a cover on which to lay a corpse.

287 178 177 386 531 The customary method of producing tapa today corresponds largely to that observed by Cook (577)

577. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 203/204.

in the second half of the 18th century and by Mariner (578)

578. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 288-293.

at the beginning of the 19th century. On the whole, and in numerous details, the work procedure has remained the same, though various changes are to be noted. Thus, European knives (and axes) replaced the shells formerly used to cut the paper mulberry trees; the outer bark is no longer scraped off the bast layer with shells; rather, bast and bark are today more quickly separated with knife and hand; manioc roots are now used as glue (in the koko'anga process) instead of the "toe" berries and maho'a (arrow root, Tacca pinnatifida Forst. f.) the koka scrapers are, of course, a modern device, just as the wooden half-cylinders with boards and nails used in dyeing have been "modernized"; the printed panels show symbols and objects from present-day Tonga and lettered inscriptions, along with the traditional patterns; moreover, the tapa lengths may today be wider and shorter if Mariner's account ("about six feet in breadth, and generally about forty or fifty yards in length" /cited in English/) is correct; the painting on of the segment numbers in Arabic numerals is, of course, the result of European influences; a certain simplification of the work process means the abolishment of the "baking below ground" (earth oven?) which, according to Mariner, was formerly customary and apparently made the color more permanent; finally, it may be mentioned that the re-drawing of the decorations is today more thorough and is not done with hea juice, but with a mixture of koka color and Aleurites soot.

100: Koch--518 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 009 Tonga 009

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531
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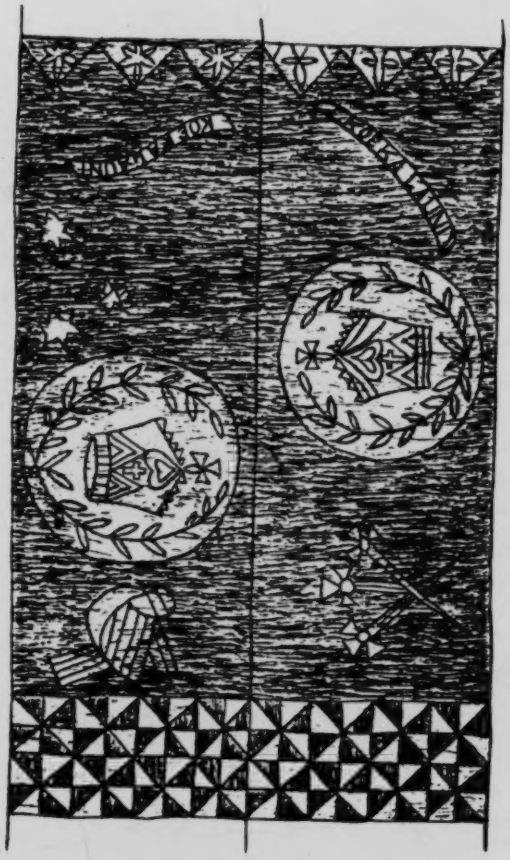

20. Design on bast cloth "ngatu tahina": symbols of the modern Tongan state

[End Plate II]

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

place to see something of the usual occupations of the natives at their homes. One of the things, that strikes a visitor most upon his arrival at Tongatabu, is the incessant hammering which commences at daybreak, and continues without intermission until about noon. To satisfy ourselves as to the cause of this, we entered the first house in which we heard the noise, and found two women engaged in making tappa, or native cloth. They were seated on the ground, one on each side of a log about 6 feet long and 6 inches square, which was raised just clear of the floor by means of short bits of stick placed under the ends of it. Each woman had a piece of the bark, of which the tappa is made, laid before her on the log, and was beating it with a wooden mallet about a foot in length, the handle being rounded, and the striking end square, with grooves in the sides. They wetted the bark from time to time, sprinkling water upon it from a large wooden bowl that stood upon the ground beside them.

In another hut a woman was shaving the head of a young child with a bit of glass broken from the neck of a bottle, dipping her finger into a cocoanut-shell of water and wetting the place as she went on; the little brown head became perfectly smooth and shining under the operation, which was so skilfully performed as not to disturb the child as it lay fast asleep on her arm. They call this operation fa-fai-ulu; literally, shave the head: shaving the chin being called te-lee kava, razor the beard.

In the next hut two men were busily employed in rigging the model of a canoe, to sell or barter on board the ship; they were very intent upon their work, leading all the ropes correctly, and finishing every part with great care.

In one house we found a native artist, a woman who made designs for patterns on tappa. She was at work, and had several lying by her which she had just finished. In a corner of the hut lay a pile of enormous yams, some of them being upwards of 4 feet in length. This store, together with other provisions, had been collected by the husband against the confinement of his wife, which appeared likely to take place very soon. The man sat watching her, and nursing a fine boy, and seemed quite proud of the attention with which we regarded his wife's performance.

In the course of our exploring excursion we called upon the principal man of the place, who had presided at the school examination in the morning. He was sitting alone in one corner of the matted floor of his house, and welcomed us as we entered, desiring us to be seated beside him. The house was in no way superior to the generality in the place, except in being a little larger and having the court-yard round it more carefully kept; the only piece of furniture in it was a large kava bowl, which hung up in the apartment. In a corner of the court-yard lay,